A. Maskell

A DISCOURSE Concerning LENT,

In Two Parts.

The *FIRST*, an *Historical* Account of its *Observation* :

The *SECOND*, an *Essay* concerning its *Original* : This

Subdivided into Two *Repartitions* : Whereof

The *First* is Preparatory : and *shews*, that most of our *Christian Ordinances* are *Deriv'd* from the *Jews* : And

The *Second Conjectures*, that *Lent* is of the same *Original*.

[George Hooper, DD]

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TO THE

READER.

I Am not unſenſible, that a Diſcourſe, concerning *Lent*, which declares not againſt it, may be apt to be ſuſpected at firſt ſight, of a very Ill, or Moroſe, Deſign; either of retrieveing ſome Antiquated Superſtition; or of bringing back upon the World ſome old Rigours and Auſterities, from which they have been happily ſet Free.

But the *Title Page*, or at leaſt the Summary of the *Contents*, may, I hope, eaſe the Reader of that Jealouſy: and if he will bear but the Penance, of peruſing the Treatiſe; he will find, that the *Hiſtorical* Part aims only at Truth

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in matter of Fact; and that ſuch an *Origination* is offer'd, as neither complies with the Romiſh Errors, nor induces any other Reſtraints, than what he, in the Liberty of his own Diſcretion, ſhall think fit to Injoin himſelf.

The Derivation of our Chriſtian *Lent*, from a like Preparatory Time of the Jews, has ſeem'd to me to be very Probable, a long while: and having intimated ſo much of it in a late Royal Audience, as ſerv'd to Exhort, and to Direct, to the Duty of the Seaſon; I was eaſily perſwaded to conſider it more expreſly, in ſome, as I then thought, ſhort Diſcourſe, but which by degrees has increas'd to a greater bulk.

For preſently it appear'd neceſſary, to the better Adjuſting

this

this Parallel Line, as it were, of Jewiſh Practice; that I ſhould firſt diſtinctly view that of the Chriſtian; tracing it from its beginning, by the Elder Accounts; and Aſcertaining it, as I went, with what exactneſs I might. And here, the differing Opinions of, the juſtly Celebrated, Monſieur *Daille* meeting me in in my Progreſs, oblig'd me, to ſtay longer on ſome Places; and to clear the Ground, of the Objections he had thrown in the Way.

And then, when this Work was diſpatcht; and there ſeem'd to remain no more, than that I ſhould bring forth the Reaſon, and Uſages, of the Jewiſh *Lent*, and propoſe its Agreement and Affinity with ours: it was further judg'd Requiſite, leſt this

ſingle Similitude ſhould be thought only Caſual; to ſhew, that there were, in the Chriſtian Religion, many other like Correſpondencies, which muſt apparently be attributed to the ſame Original.

This therefore chiefly occaſion'd that Addition to the ſecond Part, which makes the firſt *Repartition*: and finding the ſubject to be copious, I enlarg'd the more willingly upon it; not only to ſerve my firſt Intention the more effectually; but to try, if by this means ſome more tolerable account might not be given of many an Antient, and now Uncouth, Chriſtian Practice. For, though of late many very Learned Men of our own, and Foreign Nations, have much illuſtrated the New Teſtament by

by ſuch Comparative Obſervations; yet their Curioſity has not happen'd to carry them ſo far, as to hold their Jewiſh Light to the dark Corners of our Unſcriptural Antiquity. A Task, I heartily wiſh ſuch a one, as our Able Dr. *Lightfoot*, had undertook: if only, that he might have ſav'd me the Hazard I now run, in pretending to make Other things underſtood, by the help of what I underſtand ſo little.

But concerning theſe elder Unſcriptural Cuſtoms, the Reader is deſir'd to obſerve, that I intend not to Recommend them, by the Original I indeavour to Aſſign: my Attempt deſigning nothing more, than to propoſe the Fact, and Conjecture at its Riſe; a Curioſity allowed in all ſearches after Antiquities, of any kind;

kind; and commonly receiv'd by the Learned World with Favour. For as the Scripture commands us *, to *ſtand in the Ways*, for our Direction; and *ſee, and ask for the Old Paths, that we may walk therein:* ſo we may alſo *ſtand* a little, and *ſee* the *Old* Diſus'd *Paths*, though we are to leave them; as we view the Old, Forſaken, *Foſſeways*; looking about, for our Delight, and Inſtruction.

* Jerem. 6. 16.

For, if the Derivations I offer at, ſhould have the good fortune to Obtain; there will be no worſe Conſequences than theſe: On one hand, That ſuch Rites were not ſo much borrowed from Heatheniſm; nor otherwiſe contriv'd, and ſuper-induc'd, towards the latter end of the ſecond Age; as ſome have ſuggeſted:

gested: and on the other hand that though they might be as old as the Apostles, and have had the honour to be practis'd by them; yet they were not then newly Erected, and purposely Instituted, as the Popish Authors would perswade us; nor all of them Recommended, much less given in Precept, to Posterity.

But the Obligation, or Unlawfulness, Expedience, or Inconvenience, of their Continuance, is a consideration of another kind; to be judged by the Nature of the Respective Rites; by the Intimated, or Presum'd, Intention of the Apostles; and by the Declaration of the Primitive, Apostolical Church. I pretend not therefore to Intermeddle in it; nor undertake to determine, whether some of those

Customs,

Customs, though design'd, as they say, for a more Honourable Interment, were not however kept too long; or whether some have not been since Buried, that were never Dead: professing, in this whole matter, to adhere still to the Judgment of our Church; whose Prudent and Pious Moderation, if I may speak from my own Experience, the further any one shall Consider, the more he will see cause to Approve.

This Allowance for the Sincerity of my Intention, the Justice, I hope, of the Reader will not deny me: but I shall never the less want the Pardon still, both of the Learn'd, and Unlearn'd. For, though I have endeavour'd, what I could, to make the Discourse Plain, and Intelligible; and have therefore rid it of all

strange

ſtrange Languages, and their Criticiſms, ſetting them aſide, and by themſelves; yet the ſubject it ſelf may in ſome places be ſtrange, and nice, to the Unacquainted; and require a little better Attention. And ſo, though I deſign'd to ſhun being Tedious, eſpecially in matters commonly known; and would have been glad, elſewhere to have avoided Miſtakes: yet, I know, I am much at the Mercy of the Learn'd; as I ſhall be always ready to be inſtructed by their Corrections.

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Corrigenda, & Addenda.

PAge 7. line 21. dele *that be may if*, &c. p. 19. l. 15. dele *in*, p. 30. l. 12. read *Oris de Fej.* p. 67. l. 23. r. *Paschatis*, p. 68. l. 5. r. *choose*, p. 69. after the 18. line add, However I will venture to offer, that the following *Sabbatum continuatis*, may be understood of *Saturday* alone, and without any Connexion with a *Friday* preceding; and mean no more, than the *Passing* it without food, the ἐξωνήστεια of *Dionys. Alex.* [See the next Ch. §. 2. and Note (*e*).] p. 75. l. 7. put §. II. l. ult. for *Trusty*, *Faithful*, p. 79. l. 12. put §. III. p. 87. for (*n*) put (*p*) p. 122. l. 16. for *Fast* r. *Fact*, p. 153. l. 6. &c. *Ch.* I. to be reckon'd *Ch.* II. p. 224. l. 8. put in the Margin *See Fig. I.* l. 14. for *impurer* r. *certain*, p. 229. l. 21. dele *from him*, p. 231. l. 24. dele *so*, p. 232. l. 6. after *anon*, add (*n*); and in the Margin, *n. ch.* 9. p. 252. l. last save 3. for *little* r. *little*, p. 267. l. 24. r. *Ingenuous*, p. 317. l. 11. r. *High Priests*, *and are in some*, l. 12. for *now*, r. *also*, p. 323. l. 27. r. *Pattern*, p. 326. l. 3. dele the second *that*, p. 328. l. 26. r. *Laps'd*, p. 336. l. 15. dele (*l*) l. 19, 20. dele *of some*, l. 20. r. (*l*). p. 381. l. last save 2, for *from* r. *for*, p. 385. l. 5. r. ἀλλεγόρεσι, p. 392. to p. 401. the *Running Title* to be, as afterwards it is, *A Conjecture*, &c. p. 403. l. 16. r. *Depellendus ab Hominum consortio*, [under a *Niddui*, See pag. 232. lit. (*b*)] whose, &c.

PART

PART I.

AN Historical Account OF THE Obſervation of *LENT*.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Feſtival of the Reſurrection.

§. I. *The Weekly Feſtival, or Sunday.*
§. II. *The Yearly: the many Differences about it.*
§. III. *The Difference between the* Aſiatick *Churches, and the Others; and the Proof thence in general, for the Apoſtolical Antiquity of* Eaſter.

§. IV. *In Particular, from the Letters of* Polycrates *and* Irenæus.

LENT, in the old *Saxon*, is known to signifie the *Spring*; and thence has been taken in common Language, for the *Spring-Fast*, or the *Time* of *Humiliation* generally observ'd by Christians before *Easter*. And as it is a Season of Recollection and Repentance, ending at that *Festival* of our Saviour's *Resurrection*, and annually regulated by the Time of it; so the Historical Knowledge of the one depends upon the other, and the *Fast* cannot well be understood, without the *Feast* be first settled, and some Account of it premised.

§. I. NOW the *Feast* of the *Resurrection* is of two Sorts: either the *Weekly*, the *Lord's Day*; or the *Yearly*, called *Easter*. And as to the *Weekly*; It is on all hands acknowledged to have been perpetually and universally observed, ever since the beginning of Christianity. It is particularly remembred in the *New Testament*, as a Day for *Christian Assemblies*, under the name of

of the (a) *First Day of the Week:* and in the Book of *Revelation* it is called (b) the *Lord's Day*. *Pliny* in his Relation he made to *Trajan*, concerning the Christians of *Bithynia*, about the Year of our Saviour 104, is supposed to have intended it, when he says, (c) *They were us'd to meet together before Light, on a Certain day.* And *Justin Martyr* (d) in his *Apology* about the Year 138, giving an account of the Day of their ordinary Assemblies, expresses it to be *Sunday*. So has the *weekly* Day of the *Resurrection* been all along kept *Holy*; nor has any Christian Church ever censured, or thought fit to set aside, the Practice.

(a) Acts 20. 7. 1 Cor. 16. 2.
(b) Rev. 1. 10.

§. II. AND if there has been constantly such a *Weekly Memorial* of the *Resurrection*, we shall little doubt but it had too an *Yearly Solemnity*. It is true, there is not so early a mention of that *Annual Festival*, (neither is it likely, that there should have been as much occasion for the Remembrance of what happened but once a Year, as of that which was done every Week:) but neither has there been wanting very good Evidence for its great Antiqui-

ty: a Dispute that arose about the Year 190, concerning the Time of keeping it; giving us accidentally to know, That such a Day had been always kept, down from the Apostles time.

About the Time of the *Weekly Feast*, the *First Day*; there could be no Disagreement: but about the *Annual* there might be very much. For if all Nations of Christendom had then reckoned by the same kind of Year; (suppose by the *Jewish*, which was *Lunar*, and consisted of so many Revolutions of the *Moon*;) and besides, if all had agreed, That our Saviour arose on the 16*th*. day of the *first Month*; yet, after all this, there was a very obvious Question, and which would frequently return: Whether they should keep the *Yearly Feast* on that 16*th*. day precisely, whatever day of the Week it happened to be, if on a *Friday*, the *Weekly Day* of the *Passion*; or whether they should not rather make the *Yearly Remembrance* to fall in with the *Weekly*, and so keep it on some *First* day of the *Week*, which should be near to that 16*th*. day of the *Month*.

This

This was the Variety which was actually the Occasion of that Debate I am now to mention. Other Differences there might have been rais'd from the difference of Years, and some were insisted on in after times; which I shall here remark, not for present use, but to help the understanding of what may be hereafter incidentally mentioned. For if all had agreed to celebrate the Annual Festival, *on the* Sunday *near to the* Annual *Day; yet this* Yearly *Day must have been different, if they reckoned by different Years, or by different Beginnings of the same sort of Year. So those* Montanists *in* Sozomen, (e) *who went by the* Solar Year, *and kept the* Resurrection-day *on some* Sunday *near the sixth of* April, *would no more agree with those who placed it by the* 14th. *day of the first* Lunar *Month of the* Jews; *than the* 14th. *day of the* Moon's *Age, would always be upon the same day of* April. *And so those who agreed to use the* Year *of the* Moon's *according to the* Jewish Form, *might still differ among themselves; if some followed the erroneous Calculation of their cotemporary* Jews, *and begun their* Year *sooner than* Moses *had directed, as the* Christians *of* Cilicia, Mesopotamia, *and* Syria, *did*

(e) Lib. 7. cap. 18.

before the Council of Nice : *and if others amending the* Jewish Calendar, *stayed till the* Æquinox, *according to the Original Appointment, as the rest of the World did, to whom those Easterns therefore by the direction of that Council, in a little while conformed.*

And further, those who were so far agreed, as to keep their Easter-day *on a* Sunday, *and to observe the same Reformed* Jewish Year, *might yet differ in their placing of the* Sunday *in that Year : Some, as the* Latines (*f*), *assigning it to the* 16th *day of the* first Month, *on which day our Saviour was by them supposed to have arose ; and thenceforth to any of the six days after, on which the* Sunday *should happen ; and some to the* 15th *day, the first and great day of the* Jewish Paschal *Feast, and thenceforward to any of the six days after of the same* Jewish Solemnity ; (*a Practice to which the Western Church has since agreed*) ; *as the* Alexandrians *used to do, who supposing the* Resurrection *to have been on the* 17th (*f*), *might think they came near enough to it, when the* Sunday *was never to be further from it, than two days before, or four after : And some might allow it to be on the* 14th *day, the day in which the* Paschal Lamb

(*f*) Buch. in Victorii Can. Pasc. c. 11.

Lamb *was sacrificed, as amongst others, the old* Brittish *Inhabitants of our Isle were found to do*; *who, if they thought our Saviour to have risen on the* 16th *day, placed their* Easter-Sunday *as exactly near it, as the* Alexandrians *plac'd theirs*; *and if they thought he rose on the* 17th, *they were yet more exact than any, and put it as near as was possible*; *so as never to be more distant from it than three days, either before or behind it. For such Reasons our old Predecessors might have thought fit thus to keep their* Easter: *however they were blamed by our* Austin *for it*; *and afterwards call'd* Hereticks *and* Quartodecimani, *a term of Dislike more justly given to those of whom we are going to speak, and who occasion'd this too nice and too long Digression, which the* Reader *therefore finds in another Letter, that he may, if he pleases, pass it over.*

§. III. THE most likely Question to happen, concerning the Place of the *Yearly Resurrection-Day*, [whether it should be always kept on a *Sunday*, or no,] was the great Controversie between the Churches of Lesser *Asia* and *Rome*, and in which all *Christendom* became ingag'd: a Dispute managed by

the Bishop of *Rome* too warmly, but which has done so much good, as to give occasion for the preserving some Records relating to this part of the History of Christianity, by which we are certainly inform'd of the Great and Universal Antiquity of *Easter*, and its preceding *Fast*. Those *Asiatick* Churches, besides their singularity in breaking off their *Fast* on the 14*th*, day, celebrated the Solemnity of the *Resurrection* on a fixt day of the *first Month* of the *Jews*, whatever day of the *Week* it prov'd to be: and the rest of the *Christian World*, if it happened not to be a *Sunday*, observed it on some *Sunday* near it. But both the Parties kept the *Festival*, and each of them contended, That it had been so kept in their several Churches from their first Plantation.

For about this Matter, at the Request of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, the several Bishops of *Christendom* met in their several Synods; and all of them, except those of *Asia*, *properly so called*, agreed on these two Points, as deriv'd to them from Apostolical Tradition.

1. That

1. That the Solemnity of our Saviour's *Resurrection* was not to be celebrated on any other day, but the *Lord*'s *Day*:

2. And that the *Paschal Fast* ought not to be ended till that Day.

This was the Answer of all those Synods, to the Questions in difference: and the Returns of many of them are mentioned by *Eusebius* to have been extant in his time (*g*).

The general Result of those Synodical Determinations, which *Eusebius* gives us, is sufficient to satisfie us, That the Bishops of both sides were fully possess'd of the Apostolical Tradition of their different Customs of observing *Easter*. And such an uniform Concurrence of so many venerable Persons, from such distant Places, about such a solemn and observable a Practice, and at a time no more remote from the Age of the Apostles, cannot but induce us to give credit to this their single Affirmation, as it is by him Authentically reported. For as to the time of this Dispute, it is well judg'd to have been agitated about the Year 190 of our Lord's *Birth*, not 160 after his *Passion* and *Resurrection*, the *Memorial* of which

we

we now speak of; not much above 120 Years from the Martyrdom of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, nor above 90 after the Death of St. *John*.

§. IV. GREAT Regard is therefore to be had to the Judgement of the whole *Christian Church* of that time, which *Eusebius* summarily reports to us (*g*), of their Tradition concerning *Easter*. Had indeed the several Answers, the Bishops of the Provinces sent, remain'd to our days, or had *Eusebius* given us more Extracts of them; we could not have fail'd of many remarkable Particularities, alledged by them, in Favour and Justification of this general Assertion. But they are all lost: neither was it agreeable to that *Historian*'s purpose, to fill his Books with Proofs for the Antiquity of this Solemnity, a Matter in his days never doubted by any. For which Reason, neither does he give us out of them any Instances in Confirmation of that particular Usage, in which the great part of the World agreed with *Victor*, and which afterwards generally prevail'd: He rather thought fit, at a time when the *Asiatick* Custom was left

left off, to preſerve ſome little Account of what they had to ſay for their ſingular Faſhion: and even out of that little, we ſhall be able to ſee, how well the general Tradition was grounded.

Polycrates Biſhop of *Epheſus*, the chief of the *Aſiaticks*, in his Letter to *Victor*, (a Fragment of which *Euſebius* gives) (*h*) profeſſes, That they kept the *true Day unfalſified*; and then ſays, (in anſwer, I ſuppoſe, to *Victor*, who had boaſted of the Sepulchres of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and other Saints, from whoſe Authority he might have recommended the Cuſtom of his ſide,) *That there were too depoſited in* Aſia, *the Remains of very great Saints and Martyrs*, Philip *and his three* Daughters, *St.* John *who lay in our Lord's breaſt*, Polycarp, Thraſeas, Sagaris, *and* Melito, *who all had kept the* 14th *day of the Paſſover, according to the Goſpel; and ſo* (adds he) *have I, according to the Tradition of my Kinſmen*, [*or Countrymen, or my Predeceſſors in this See* (*i*)] *with ſome of whom I converſed. They were ſeven and I am the eighth; and they always kept the Day when Leaven was forbid: I therefore, who am now* 65 *Years old in the Lord, and*

(*h*) *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt.* 5. 24.

and have conversed with our Brethren of the whole World, and have perused all holy Scripture, am not at all moved at those who trouble and threaten me. For my Betters have said, God is rather to be obeyed than Man.

This Holy Man was himself a great Evidence of the Antiquity of the Custom for which he stands. He was about the *8th* Bishop from St. *John*, (for however the Word is to be rendered, about so many sate in the same interval at *Rome*) and writes this about 90 Years after his Death, when he himself had been a Christian 65 Years of them, and able to testifie of all those Years, if he was baptized Adult, as they then generally were. We may too think, that he had some particular Instances in his View, of the Practice of those Persons, whose Names he vouches, if we may infer from what we chance to know of two of them, *Melito* and *Polycarp*. For *Melito*, who was Bishop of *Sardes*, had, (as *Eusebius* tells us in another place) (*k*), some twenty Years before, *wrote a Treatise of the Lord's Day, and two Books concerning the Passover*, or the Christian Solemnity at that time of

(k) *Hist. Eccl.* 4. 26.

of the Year; *there having been a great Dispute raised about it at* Laodicea, *then when* Sagaris, the Bishop of that Place, (named here by *Polycrates*) *received his Martyrdom*; a Dispute, I suppose, of the same nature with This. And in it *Polycarp* (here too mentioned) had been engaged before; who *went to Rome* (as St. *Jerome* (*l*) expresses it) *about some Questions, concerning the Paschal Observation, in* Anicetus *his Pontificate.* And the Conversation which he had with *Anicetus*, about that Subject, we have related by *Irenæus* a Disciple of *Polycarp*'s, and who had been bred up in *Asia.* He, now Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, though declaring for *Victor*, yet interposing and endeavouring to moderate the Heat of the Controversie, in a piece which *Eusebius* has sav'd of that Letter (*m*), among other things, told *Victor* as follows.

(*l*) *Catal. Scrip. Eccl.*

(*m*) 5. 24.

And the Presbyters before Soter, *who presided in the Church which you now govern, I mean* Anicetus, *and* Pius, *and* Hyginus, *and* Telesphorus, *and* Xystus, '*neither kept* [*the* 14th *day*] *themselves, nor permitted those of their Church to do it. And, nevertheless they, not keeping*

keeping [*it*], *held Communion with those who came from other Dioceses, where it was kept, Although* [then when they were together in *Rome*] *the keeping* [*it*] *was more contrary to those who kept* [*it*] *not* (*n*) : *And none were ever refus'd Communion for this Matter. But the Presbyters before you, who kept* [*it*] *not, sent the* Eucharist *to those of the Dioceses who kept* [*it*]. *And when Blessed* Polycarp *was at* Rome *in* Anicetus *his time, and there were some Differences between them about other things, They presently agreed, never proceeding to have any Contention on this Subject :* Anicetus *not prevailing with* Polycarp, *to forego a Custom, which he had all along observ'd with St.* John, *the Disciple of our Lord, and the other Apostles with whom he had conversed ; and* Anicetus *alledging, That he, for his part, ought to keep the Custom of the Bishops his Predecessors. And these things standing so, they communicated together ; and in the Congregation* Anicetus *gave* Polycarp *the Respect of Celebrating the* Eucharist : *and they departed from each other in Peace : in all the Churches, those who kept, and those who did not keep, preserving Peace* [*and Communion*] *one with another.*

Here

Here then we have *Polycarp* a Disciple of St. *John*, attesting to the *Asian* Tradition, an undeniable Witness of its Apostolical Antiquity. We know too that this Discourse of his with *Anicetus* must be at fartheſt in the year 161, if we reckon *Anicetus* his Death, with Bishop *Pearson*; and in the year 153, if with Mr. *Dodwell*; between 30 and 40 years before this Dispute of *Victor*'s. And indeed it seems plain from the same piece of *Irenæus* his Letter, that this Difference had been taken notice of almost from St. *John*'s time, though mutually tolerated. For to that purpose he mentions the behaviour of *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Telesphorus*, *Xystus*, all Bishops of *Rome* up to the year of our Lord 101 by Bishop *Pearson*, 102 by Mr. *Dodwell*, very near the time of St. *John*'s Decease.

From all which we see not only what good Authority the *Asiaticks* disputing with *Victor*, had for their Tradition: but that this matter had been long before brought into Question; and made so remarkable very early, that those of both sides, must have had some distinct, and more than general remembrance of the successive Practice

of

of their ſeveral Cuſtoms convey'd down to them. Neither indeed could thoſe of *Victor*'s Judgment have ever oppos'd the *Aſiatick* Obſervation, whoſe Antiquity was ſo well prov'd; if they had not produc'd on their ſide as good Evidence for their own: ſuch Evidence, I ſay, as they might well be furniſht with, from the elder Memorials of the ſame debate.

And thus did both ſides of this Great Diſpute, however they differ'd in the particular manner of their Paſchal Obſervation, abſolutely agree in the general, concerning the Apoſtolical Antiquity of it. A little while after this time, *Clemens* of *Alexandria* wrote a *Treatiſe concerning the Paſchal Obſervation*, and ſome *Diſſertations concerning Faſting*, all which are loſt. And the Deſign of his Paſchal Book, as *Euſebius* tells us (*o*), was *to deliver down the Traditions, which he had receiv'd from thoſe before him, about that ſubject: and in it he made mention of* Melito, *and* Irenæus, *whoſe Relations he ſet down. Hippolitus* likewiſe a Biſhop, and Martyr, a Diſciple of *Irenæus*, in the year 221, wrote a Book of the *Paſchal Seaſon:* in which (*p*) as *Euſebius* ſays, *he gives an*

(*o*) *Euſ. Eccl. H.* l. 6. c. 13.

(*p*) *Euſ. E. H.* lib. 6. c. 22.

an Account of the past Times, by a repeated Cycle of 16 *Years*; *concluding in the first Year of* Alexander *the Emperour's Reign*, which Book is wanting. But a Table of his, engraven in Stone, was happily dug up at *Rome* the last Age; which, beginning at that first Year of *Alexander*, gives all the *Easter Days* which were then to come for 112 Years, with as much Formality and Method, as they have been us'd to be calculated since, (*q*).

(*q*) *Apud Bucher. in Victorium.*

Such express Accounts of the Paschal Season, there have been heretofore given, very near the Apostles times; which, had they been preserved, might have more particularly informed us: serving however to let us know in gross, That the Solemnity was not then held an inconsiderable Matter; but all along much debated, and studied, and determined with great Exactness.

Upon the whole Matter therefore we have seen, that as we had some reason to presume the Apostolical Observation of a *Yearly*, from the *Weekly* day of the *Resurrection*; so this Presumptive Probability is besides actu-

ally confirmed to us by sufficient Authority. And from these Premises I hope I may have leave to conclude, if not, That this *Paschal* Observation was delivered by the Apostles to all the Churches with the *Weekly Lord's Day*; yet, That it was a Tradition received by many Churches in the Apostolick Days. And this I presume to take for a Truth in so high a degree of Evidence, that it will not be questioned, by such as shall consider impartially.

(c) Plin. Ep. *l.* 10. *Ep.* 97. *Soliti* stato die *ante lucem convenire.*

(d) Τῇ τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων χῆ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μετόντων ὅπῃ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλθοις γίνεται.

(g) *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* l. 5. c. 23. In that time a great Controversie was raised: the Bishops of *Asia* [*strictly so called*] judging, by their Ancient Tradition, That the *Paschal Solemnity* was to be kept on the 14*th* day of the Moon, then when the *Jews* sacrificed the Lamb; and that their *Fasting* ought to break off on that day, whatever day of the Week it happened to be: and the other Bishops, of the rest of the World, observing from Apostolical Tradition a different Custom, and which now obtains, That it was not fit to break up the *Fast* on any other day but the *Day* of the *Resurrection*. Upon this there were several *Synods* and *Consultations* held by the Last; and they all unanimously by their Letters declar'd this to the World for an *Ecclesiastical Rule*, That the Solemnity of our Saviour's *Resurrection* from the Dead, was to be kept on no other day but a *Sunday*: and that on that *Day* only, the *Paschal Fasting* was to cease. There is yet to be seen the Writing of those of *Palestine*, over whom *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cesarea* presided; and *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem.*

rusalem. There is another too from those of *Rome*, concerning the same Question, speaking *Victor* to be Bishop. Another of the Dioceses of *France*, where *Irenæus* was Bishop. Another of those of *Osroene*, and the Cities thereabouts. One particularly from *Bacchyllus* Bishop of *Corinth:* And several others, all concurring in the same Opinion, and giving the same Determination.

(*i*) Επ ῇ κἀγὼ ὁ μικρότερος πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης κατ' ἀδόδοσιν τῶν συγγενῶν μου οἷς καὶ παρηκολούθησα πσὶν αὐτῶν. Ἑπτὰ μὲν τῶν συγγενεῖς μου Επίσκοπος, ἐγὼ ῇ ὄγδοος. Συγγενὴς is here commonly translated *Kinsman:* but I have ventured to guess it may signifie a *Countryman*; one of the same City, Εφέσου τὸ γένος: or a Bishop *of the same See*; making the Succession to have been in a Family, and the Kindred Spiritual. This is certain; the Number of Seven Predecessors agree well with the Distance between Him and St. *John.*

(*n*) Καίτοι μᾶλλον ἐναντίον ἦν τὸ τηρεῖν τοῖς μὴ τηροῦσι, in this Epistle of *Irenæus* it seems very evident, That τηρεῖν is to be understood, not absolutely, but in construction with ἡ τεσσαρεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον, as well in this place as others; according to the common rendering: notwithstanding a contrary Suspicion elsewhere suggested, and to which a Defect in this place, of some Particle to be understood, gave the Occasion. That Defect *Valesius* supplies, by reading from Conjecture ἐν τοῖς μὴ τηροῦσι, I have rather supposed *then*, or something of that Sense, to be understood.

CHAP II.

Concerning FASTING.

§. I. *The several Kinds of Fasts.*
§. II. *Several Occasions of Fasting: particularly Penitence and Baptism.*

§. I. SO far we have view'd the Evidence, for the Antiquity of the *Paschal Solemnity* in general, with a more particular respect to the *Festival* of the *Resurrection*: we now come expresly to consider the preceding *Fast*, and its various Observation.

But first, for the better understanding of what is to follow, it will be fit to premise some Account of *Fasts*, and their Variety, and what were the more solemn times for that Duty.

There are *Three Sorts* of *Fasting*, which *Tertullian* reckons up to us *(a)*; consisting either in the Lessening, or Deferring, or Refusing, of our *Food*.

(a) *De Jejun.* c. 2.

The *first sort* is *Abstinence*, not from all *Food*, but from some kinds of it; a *Fast*

a *Fast* in part, as *Tertullian* calls it (*b*): *Abstinence* from *Flesh* especially and *Wine*; Or not only from *Flesh* and *Wine*, but from any thing of *Broth*, or any *Juicy*, *Vinous Fruit*. Such a Dry Diet as *Tertullian* speaks of, appropriated by him to his Fellow-Sectaries, the *Montanists* (*c*); but used by *Christians* before, and by *Daniel* (*d*); when he *mourned three full Weeks, and eat no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in his mouth; neither did he anoint himself at all.*

(*b*) *Tert. de Jejun.* c. 9. *Portional. Jejunium.*

(*c*) *De Jejun.* c. 1.

(*d*) Dan. 10. 2, 3.

The *second sort* was, when they did not *Dine*, but deferred their *Eating* to some time of the Afternoon, till after Three; as the *Catholicks* did in *Tertullian*'s Age, who on certain days continued their Assemblies to that hour (*e*): and both that their *Assembling*, and that *Fasting*, was call'd a Station, from the Military Word, says *Tertullian* (*f*); but immediately from the *Jewish* Phrase, and the Custom of those devout Men, who either out of their own Devotion, or as Representatives of the People, Assisted at the Oblations of the Temple, not departing thence till the Service was over (*g*). Such Stations are

(*e*) *De Jej.*

(*f*) *De Orat.* c. 14.

(h) *De Jejun.* 13. *Stat. semijejunia.*

term'd *Half-Fasts* (*h*) by *Tertullian*, and were held later by the Appointment of *Montanus*. But before their time we know from *Hermes*, an Author very ancient, and in the beginning of the Second Century, that the Stations of the first *Christians* were sometimes kept as severely, and that when they came at last to Eat, *nothing was to be tasted but Bread and Water that day* (*i*).

Such a kind of *Fast* as this, ending in a moderate Refreshment towards Night, is generally to be understood, when any great number of Days is said to be fasted together.

This *Fast* is too supposed to have begun from the Evening before, when the Stars appear'd. For then the Day began with the *Jews*, as well as with the *Athenians* (*k*).

But under this kind, which allows some time for Food in the 24 hours, the Periodical Day, we may too reckon that manner of *Fasting*, which forbids to eat or to drink while the *Sun* is up, the Vulgar Day; but either gives liberty all the Night; the *Fast* of the *Mahometans*, during their Month *Ramazan*

mazan (*l*): or else gives leave to refresh themselves, provided it be done before their first sleep, as is the manner of the *Jews*, in all their ordinary *Fasts* (*m*).

(*l*) *Ricaut* l. 2. c. 22.

(*m*) *Maim. de Jejun.* c. 1. §. 8.

The *third sort* is, when they Eat not at all, the whole day, from Sun-set, or the Appearance of the Stars, till the same season again: as the *Jews* now do in their strictest *Fasts*, as on the *Ninth* of their Month *Ab*, or on their *Propitiation-Day* (*n*).

(*n*) Ibid. c. 5. §. 6.

And in this manner not one, but more days were sometime pass'd in a *continual Fast*: as *three days* were by *Esther* (*o*), and the rest of the *Jews* of that time: and as the *forty* were miraculously by *Moses*, *Elias*, and our Blessed Saviour. And such a protracted *Fast* of *two*, or *three*, or *more days*, was afterwards in Use with *Christians*; especially before *Easter*, as we shall find hereafter.

(*o*) Esther 4. 16.

These are the several Kinds of *Fasting*, a Duty all along observed by devout Men, and acceptable to God under both Testaments; whether as it was helpful to their Devotion, or as it became a part of it. It was helpful,

as it served medicinally to restrain the looser Appetites of the Flesh, and to keep the Body under; and as it gave Liberty and Ability to the Mind, to Reflect, and Consider, and Attend, either while they were actually assisting at *Divine Service*, or preparing for some solemn part of It. It was too an *Act* of *Worship* it self; either as it proceeded from a Sence of their Sins, and of the Misery of their Condition from those Sins: or as it was expressive of that Sence before God, and intended to deprecate his Anger, and to supplicate for his Mercy and Favour; to which purpose it was accompanied with such Circumstances of an Afflicted, Humbled State, as were proper to raise Commiseration, and obtain Relief. Thus under the Old Testament, they put on Sackcloth, lay in Ashes, mourn'd and wept: and thus *Esther* is expressed by *Josephus* (*p*), to have supplicated God (as he says) *after the Custom of her Nation. Casting her self down upon the Ground, Putting on a Mourning Habit, and Abstaining from Meat and Drink; and all things Delightful* for those *three days*. Neither was the Practice

ctice of the *first Christians* much different from this of the *Jews*, on the like occasion, as we shall presently find.

§. II. We have seen the various Manner of *Fasting*, and proceed now to the Occasions and Times of *Fasting* in the *Primitive Church*.

That which I shall first mention, was the *Fast* of a *Penitent*; one who had committed after Baptism some grievous Sin, and was excluded from the Assembly, either by his own Conscience, or by Publick Sentence; and desired to be reconciled to God and the Church. The Course of this their second Repentance, was much more severe than of that before their Baptism; it appeared so upon the sight of them, as they are described by *Tertullian* (then a *Catholick*, and about the Year 200). (*q*) *Neither Washed nor Trimmed, Neglected and Unclean; taking no Delight in any thing; living in the Roughness of Sackcloth, and the Filth and Harshness of Ashes; their Faces disfigured with Fasting.* For the *Discipline* they were under directed them (as before

fore he tells us at large, in his manner of Style (r),) *To lye in Sackcloth and Ashes; to disfigure their Body with a neglected Uncleanness, and to deject their Mind with Grief: All the while to use no other Meat or Drink,* but *what is simple and natural*, [Bread and Water]; *not to satisfie the Appetite, but to keep up Life: and frequently to nourish and strengthen their Prayers with* [strict] *Fasting; to Groan, to Weep, to Roar to the Lord their God, day and night; to fall down at the feet of the Presbyters, to kneel to the Friends of God, and to beg of all the Brotherhood to intercede for them.* Such was the rigorous Penance of lapsed Christians, and their Fasting truly an *Affliction of their Souls*, as it is termed in the Old Testament.

Another solemn *Occasion* of *Fasting* was the Profession of Repentance those made who were converted to the Faith, and preparing to be Baptized. Before the Reception of that Sacrament, it was not only the Practice of the Candidates to Fast, but of the whole Congregation with them: as *Justin Martyr* in his admirable *Apology* has

has inform'd the Emperour and us. He is ſuppoſed by Mr. *Dodwell* to have wrote no later than the Year 138; and there, after he had given an account of our Faith, he adds this Relation. (s) *As many as are perſwaded, and do believe, that theſe things taught and ſaid by us are true, and promiſe to be able to live accordingly; they are instructed to Pray, and, with Faſting, to beg of God Remiſſion of their Sins, we Praying and Faſting together with them. Then they are brought by us to the Place where Water is, and are regenerated in the ſame manner of Regeneration wherewith we were regenerated before. For, in the name of the Father,* &c.

Such a *Common Faſt* there was anciently at the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament, that it could not be the work of every day of their Aſſembling, but muſt have had ſome ſet time: as we know the moſt ſolemn time was on *Eaſter-Day*; thoſe who were baptized into his Death, then as it were riſing up with him: The whole Congregation having Faſted together with them before, not only upon that particular Reaſon, but upon a common

mon Account, as we shall immediately see.

And though the *Fast* and *Humiliation* of the other Penitent, was proper to his Person, and to be undertaken at any time whensoever he was sensible of his Offence: yet there might too have been some more solemn time, even for this Duty; whether the Penance were injoin'd upon a notorious Sinner, or something of it voluntarily undergone by a more secret Offender. And no time could be more fit for this purpose, than that in which the whole Congregation would join together in Prayer and Fasting, for themselves and them: such a time as the Season before *Easter* was, in which all prepar'd more worthily to receive, and some therefore strove to be again thought worthy in any degree to receive, the solemn Communion of that Great Day.

Thus did the Fasting on both those occasions, frequently take the opportunity to close in with the *Fast* before *Easter*: an Observation I now only mention incidentally, designing no more by the early Practice of these

two

two occasional *Fasts*, the one Publick, and the other both Publick and Common; than to prepare the Reader the easier to admit the great Antiquity of this both Publick and Universal *Fast*, which we are now coming particularly to consider.

(*g*) *Maimonides de Cultu Divino*, put out by *Lud. de Viel*, *Tract.* 2. *Cap.* 6. Because the Sacrifice of the Congregation belonged to all the Children of *Israel*, and all of them could not assist; it was provided of old, that there should be chose Fit Men, who should be present at them, as Deputies of the whole Nation. And as the Priests and Levites were divided into their Courses, so were these; each Course serving their Week, and giving their Attendance, either at the Temple, if they lived near it, or else at the Synagogues of their Habitation: Praying four times a day, and Fasting the *Mundays*, *Tuesdays*, *Wednesdays*, and *Thursdays* of their Week. Their meeting at these Prayers, and their Attendance on this Duty, was called a *Station*: and they, the *Men of the Station*. This is to be seen more at large in *Lightfoot* of the *Temple-Service*, cap. 7. §. 3.

(*i*) Hermæ Past. l. 3. sim. 5. *Cum jejunarem & sederem in monte quodam, & gratias agerem Deo pro omnibus quæ fecerat mecum; video Pastorem illum sedentem juxta me, & dicentem mihi, Quid tam mane huc venisti? Respondi, Quoniam, Domine, Stationem habeo. Quid est, inquit,* Statio? *& dixi,* Jejunium—— *Illo Die quo jejunabis, nihil omnino gustabis nisi Panem & Aquam.* Here *Statio* is taken simply for a *Fast*, from the Practice, I suppose, of those *Stationary Men* on those four Days: as it is otherwise in *Tertullian*, for a *Fast* till after Three, from the Custom, it may be, of other Devout Men, who might not depart from the Temple till about that Hour, when the *Evening Sacrifice was done*.

(*k*) Plin.

(*k*) Plin. Nat Hist. l. 2. c. 77. *Ipsum Diem alii aliter observavere. Babylonii inter duos solis Exortus: Athenienses inter duos Occasus: Umbri à Meridie in Meridiem: Vulgus omne à Luce ad Tenebras: Sacerdotes Romani, & qui Diem definiere Civilem, item Ægyptii & Hipparchus, à Media Nocte in Mediam.*

(*p*) *Jos. Arch.* 11. 6. Καὶ Ἐδήεας ἰκέτδε τ Θεὸν τῷ πάλαι νόμῳ, ῥίψασα χῦ τ γῆς ἑαυτὴν, καὶ πενθικὴν ἐσθῆτα φορεσαμένη, καὶ τεφρᾷ καὶ πολῷ καὶ τοῖς ὕδασιν ἀποπαξαμένη, τείσιν ἡμέρας ἥτει τ Θεὸν——

(*q*) Tert. de Pœnit. c. 11. *Illotos, Sordulentos, extra lætitiam oportet diversari, in Asperitudine Sacci, & Horrore Cineris, & Oris Jejunio Vanitate.*

(*r*) Cap. 8. *Exomologesis prosternendi & humilificandi hominis disciplina est, conversationem injungens Misericordiæ illicem; de ipso quoque Habitu atque Victu mandat; Sacco & Cineri incubare, Corpus Sordibus obscurare, Animum Mœroribus dejicere, illa quæ peccavit tristi tractatione mutare; cæterum Pastum & Potum pura nosse, non Ventris scilicet sed Animæ causa: plerumq; vero Jejuniis preces alere, Ingemiscere, Lachrymari, & Mugire dies noctesq; ad Dominum Deum suum; Presbyteris advolvi, & Caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus Fratribus Legationes deprecationis suæ injungere.*

(*s*) *Justin. Apol.* 2. *Edit. Commel.* p. 73. Ὅσοι ἂν πειθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιῶν ἔτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τ Θεὸν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἄφεσιν διδασκόμενοι· ἡμῶν συνεύχομαι καὶ συννηστεύουσιν αὐτοῖς. Ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἔστι, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ἣν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται. Ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Fast before the Festival of the Resurrection.

§. I. *The General Presumption for its Apostolical Antiquity.*
§. II. *A Particular Proof of it from* Irenæus.
§. III. *The different Length of that Fast down to* Irenæus *his time: with some, probably, of* 40 *days.*

§. I. IT is to be remembred, That the second Point of that Dispute between *Victor* and the *Asiaticks*, was concerning the *Ending* of the *Ante-paschal Fast*; whether or no it ought to be left off before the *Resurrection-Day*: the *Asiaticks*, as it seems, concluding their *Fast* at the *Lord's Supper*, on the 14*th* day of *Nisan* in the Evening; and the Others, who kept the *Festival* of the *Resurrection* on a *Sunday*, not breaking off their *Abstinence* before, thoughpossibly their *Fast* might have been more strict on the *Friday*, the *Anniversary* of the *Passion* of our *Lord*. Now

Now this *Question*, concerning the *Determination* of the *Fast*, so summarily reported by *Eusebius*, is sufficient to let us know, That there was such a *Fast* then kept by both sides; and had been, in all probability, as anciently kept as the *Feast* of the *Resurrection*; (for, of That, we do not perceive that there was the least doubt made:) so much, to use *Eusebius* his Words, which here follow, to this purpose, *Does their Difference of* Fasting *commend their Agreement in the Faith*.

For a further Confirmation of this Truth, it were to be wished, now in an Age wherein it is doubted, That there had been preserved to us, either *Melito*'s Treatises, or the several *Synodical* Answers upon this Debate, with *Victor*'s and *Irenæus* his *Circular* Letters; or at least, That *Eusebius* had given us a more circumstantial Extract. But those Writings are lost, either by the common Fate of many other Books; or else because neglected, when the Dispute was given up, and the Practice of *Victor* universally prevail'd. And *Eusebius* for his part might not think himself

himſelf concern'd to collect out of them any Authorities for a Practice, in which thoſe of that time all agreed, and which none of his time queſtioned. It was the more proper buſineſs of his *Hiſtory*, to give an Account from them of the Controverted Points; and for the reſt to leave us to this their general and common Concluſion, That each *way of Ending the Faſt* (and conſequently the *Faſt* it ſelf) *was deriv'd from Apoſtolical Tradition* (a).

(a) *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt.* 5. 23.

§. II. HOWEVER it has chanced, that a ſhort Scrip of the former part of the ſame Letter of *Irenæus* we cited before, and which *Euſebius* produced to give a taſte of the Temper and Addreſs of that Good Man; does not only ſerve to inform us, with what Variety this their *Lent* was then kept, (which is one part of our Task to obſerve), but helps us beſides to a particular Argument for its High Antiquity.

For that Numerous Part of the Church that agreed with *Victor* about the Time of *Ending* the *Faſt*, did however obſerve that *Faſt* very differently,

though without any Opposition or Division: The Account of which amicable Variety among themselves *Irenæus* thus briefly gives to *Victor*, the better to qualifie his heat against the *Asiaticks*, raised by that other angry Difference (*b*).

For there is not only a Dispute about the Day, but also about the Manner of the Fast. For some think they ought to fast One day, some Two,

A	B
and some More. Some too measure their Day by Forty Hours, both of Day and Night.	*and some More, some Forty. Their Day too* (*c*) *they measure by the Hours of the Day* [only] *and* [also] *by the Hours of the Night.*
And this Variety of those that keep the Fast, is not now risen in our days, but long before, in the time of those before us:	
those who it seems governed [in the Churches] *with less exactness than they ought, giving down to their Successors such*	*those who it seems* (*d*) *retained* [what had been deliver'd to them] *with less exactness than they ought, delivering to their*

such Custom as had its Beginning from Simplicity and want of Knowledg.	*their Successors such Custom for Traditional, which had been taken up by Simplicity and want of Knowledge [Singularity].*

And yet nevertheless all of them did, and we now do, keep Peace [Communion] one with another: and the Difference of our Fasting *commends the Agreement of our* Faith.

Differences, we see, will still happen upon this Subject: for neither is the World at an Agreement about the Meaning of this Place. Though indeed it be no great wonder, that the sence of such a concise Fragment should be a little uncertain; where we have no help, from what went before, or came after, to determine it. I have therefore given a double Rendring of the doubtful Passage; One marked with the Letter A, according to *Valesius*, which is embraced by *Daillé*, and those who have a mind to depress the Antiquity of *Lent*, and especially of the *forty Days*: and another marked with B, much according to *Ruffinus*

his Version, made about the End of the fourth Century.

And, to begin with what concerns the *Fast* in general, it can never be supposed, though some would be willing it should, That *Irenæus*, in the last of the two doubtful Passages however rendered, speaks any thing to the Disparagement of the *Fast* it self: as if those who long before his time had Governed the Church less exactly, had shew'd their less Exactness in the Institution of a *Lent*. Had He said so, he had indeed effectually silenc'd one part of the Grand Dispute, that concerning the *End* of the *Fast*; for he had declared against any Fast at all: but he must have been taken then for an ill Arbitrator by *Victor* and the rest, as well as by *Polycrates*, who all equally joined in the Tradition of the *Fast*; and must of necessity, by the change of the Question, have become a common Adversary and turned the whole Dispute upon himself.

But this Great Man used another method, and went by the common Principle. For he speaks to *Victor* of the Practice of those of his own side; who

who differed from the common Custom; but with whom Communion had been always held, and was not now refused by *Victor* himself. Some of those Differences, it is plain, he charges with less Exactness; and reflects upon the Authors of them, whoever they were, but not upon *Victor*'s Predecessors or his own: and his Argument then for Peace proceeds thus with great force, That the Bishop of *Rome* should not break off Communion with the *Asiaticks* for their different manner; for those who joined with him against them, and remained in his Communion, had their different Customs too.

There is therefore no Reflection from this place upon the Original of *Lent*: but, on the contrary, there is a strong Confirmation of its Apostolical Antiquity under either Version. For those who (according to *Valesius*) *Governed the Churches* with that little Exactness, as to be Authors of an undue Custom, were very *Ancient*, *long before the days* of *Irenæus*, and are supposed here to have had Cotemporaries, who observed the right Manner. But further,

in the other, I think, more exact Interpretation, those who *were long before* Irenæus *his time*, and consequently very near to the time of St. *John*, are said expresly to have been, (though not faithful and exact, yet) *Retainers and Keepers* of a Custom, which had therefore been rightly practised yet earlier, even before the days of those, who were *long before Irenæus*.

§. III. Thus much concerning the *Antiquity* of a *Lent*, I could not omit to add, from these few Lines of *Irenæus*, casually preserved to us, and which speak very casually to that Matter: To the *Manner* of *Keeping Lent* they are more express and direct; but very brief and concise, as wrote on another design, and not for *Victor*'s or our Information in the Particular we desire to see.

In this transient Mention of the *Manner*, he says, *some observed One day, some Two, and some More*: not expressing who they were, or in what they were less Exact, for *Victor* might understand him well, though we do not. Those who kept but *One day*, and whose

whose *Resurrection-day* was a *Sunday*, in all probability kept what we call *Good Friday*, the *Weekly Day* of the *Passion*: and if they did not too use some sort of *Abstinence* though not so strict on the *Saturday*, they were so little exact, as to offend against the Rule, and to break up their *Fast* before *Easter-Day*. But if there were any, whose *One Day* was the *Saturday*, they who begun their *Fast* so late, little wanted that Rule to tell them when to end it; and their neglecting the *Passion-Day* could not seem very exact to those that observed it.

As to the *Two or More days*, it is not neither determined after what sort they were kept: whether in One continued *Fast* uninterrupted by any Food, as *two or more* of those days were certainly fasted by some of the next Age, especially in the *Passion-Week*; or whether the *Fasts* were several, though the *Days* were continued, each Day ended with some Refreshment. If those *More days* were very Many, they were (as we have intimated already (*)) likely to have been kept in the *last Manner*. There might too have been more

(*) Ch. 2. §. 1.

Days than Two kept together, not only once just before *Easter*, but oftner, and at some distance within the Compass of a larger time. Hereafter Examples will appear of such *Fasts*: and the several Practices may have been old, though the mention of them in Books be later.

Hitherto the Words are plain, and of certain Construction; though we may not know every particular Case to which they might refer: but those that follow are of ambiguous Interpretation, and particularly the word *Forty* is expounded, as we see, by some of *Days*, and by some of *Hours*.

It is not absolutely necessary to any design of these Papers, That *forty Days* should be here named expresly: for they may well be admitted under the latitude of the word *More*, if we shall hereafter see Reason to understand them so early. I hope therefore I am not partial, when I judge the Old Translation of this Place, to be preferable to the Modern.

For *first*, a Day of 40 Hours, is a space of time never before heard of; neither determined by the *Sun*'s Appearance,

pearance, nor Revolution. And if we ſhould admit of ſuch a ſingle Day, meaſured not by the *Sun*'s Motion, but by our *Saviour*'s lying in the Grave; yet it would be ſtrange to join *two or more* of thoſe days together. *Valeſius*, therefore wonders, That the Abſurdity has been endured, and that no Body has ſeen, that the *Greek* word for *Day* muſt be changed into that for *Faſt*, and the Sentence run ſo, *Some meaſure their* Faſt *by* 40 *Hours*, &c. This Change he is forced to by the Senſe, not countenanced by the Authority of any Copy. But not to object the Odneſs of this *Faſt*, that was to begin at ſooneſt after Breakfaſt on the *Friday*, and which took notice of our Lord's Burial, but not of his Crucifixion, much leſs of his previous Sufferings and Apprehenſion; to paſs this over, for this might be one of thoſe leſs exact Manners, which once had place, though afterwards left off: yet ſtill the mention of *Hours of Day and Night* would be very redundant, eſpecially where the Author is ſo Brief; for what need is there of this Circumſtantial Deſcripiton? and how could Forty Hours have otherwiſe come together? Such

Such Objections as these, to which the New Interpretation lies open, do put us upon looking out for another more proper: which I take that of *Ruffinus* to be.

For the Forty Days, which some are unwilling to find so soon in the Church, will appear hereafter not to have been so unheard of, for a *Fast*, as 40 Hours: but rather to have been a Number much celebrated within a little while in the *Christian Lent*, and in all probability sacred before to *Abstinence* in the *Jewish* Church.

Ruffinus his Version is thus, (*e*) *And some Forty* [Days]: *so that they make the Day, by Computation of Hours of Day and Night.* And if the Place be understood as commonly it is, and there be no more meant by it, than that the One or More days before spoke of, were the Civil or Periodical Days, and consisted each of 24 Hours; yet the Inconvenience *Valesius* urges will not follow; and a *Fast* of Forty such Days will not exclude, we know, so much Refreshment every Evening as may support Nature. The greatest Incongruity I can find in that Acception of

of the Words, is, That it makes *Irenæus*, on a Subject he does but touch, to give *Victor* unneceſſarily a verboſe Deſcription of a Day, one and the ſame thing; where the only Intention was to put him in remembrance of a Variety. I ſhould rather therefore think, That when he had given a ſhort Account of the different Numbers of Days, he ſhould then add a ſhort mention of the different Quantities of a Day: That ſome computed the day *Vulgarly*, by the Appearance of the *Sun*; and ſome *Civilly*, by its Revolution. And according to this Deſign of *Irenæus* I have directed one of the Tranſlations above, to which this of *Ruffinus* will agree.

Neither will it, I ſuppoſe, be very material to object, That a *Faſt* only from *Sun-Riſing* to *Sun-Set*, has not been uſual ſince among Chriſtians: for it might have been practiſed then, though diſus'd afterwards as leſs exact; and (as we have ſeen) the *Jews* have all along faſted in that manner upon moſt Occaſions, and the *Mahometans* continually do. Neither will it be wondered, That ſo known a Difference, as that of the *Vulgar* and *Revo-*

lutional

lutional Day, should have been expressed so negligently in few Words. And as for any other lesser Criticism (*c*), it may easily be satisfied for, if only by the natural force of the Sence, and its apposite suitableness to the Scope of the Place.

And thus far have we learned from *Irenæus*, That the *Observation of Lent* was very *Ancient*: and that its *Fast* then consisted not of *One*, or *Two days*, but *More*; and in some Places, very probably of *Forty*.

(b) *Euseb. Hist.* 5. 24. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τὴν ἡμέρας ὄψιν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν εἶδος αὐτῆς τῆς Νηστείας. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτὸν νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα. (c) Ὥρας ἡμερινάς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετρεῖσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. Καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ὀπτηρούντων ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῶν χρόνου ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ὅτι τῶν περὶ ἡμῶν, τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ὡς εἰκὸς κρατούντων, (d) Τῶν καθ' ὁπλότητα καὶ ἰδιωτισμὸν συνήθειαν οἷς τὸ μετέπειτα πεποιηκότων. (e) Καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλαττον πάντες ὅτοι εἰρωνευσάν τε καὶ εἰρηνεύοιμν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι.

(*c*) All *Valesius* his Manuscripts put no stop after πεσσαράκοντα, and that determined him to his way of Rendring this Place. But *Ruffinus* his Copy seems to have had the stop; and Sir *Henry Savil* reads so, as to change the place of the Copulative Particle thus, ὥρας τε ἡμερινὰς καὶ νυκτερινάς· and Mr. *Thorndyke* [in his *Service of God at Relig. Assemb.* p. 247.] says, This Reading is acknowledged by *Petitus*. This Lection ὥρας τε ἡμερινὰς καὶ ---- if it has any Copy to justifie it, is certainly to be preferred for the Reason at the End of this Chapter. But if it

it had no Manuſcript on its ſide, and a Change muſt be ſomewhere made in this Sentence, ſuch a Trajection of a Particle by conjecture is much more allowable, than the Subſtitution *Valeſius* makes afterwards of νήστειαν for ἡμέραν* as the Sence by the one is much more advantaged than by the other. And indeed the advantage of the Sence is ſo great, that if ſuch an Alteration is not to be admitted to join this laſt Sentence to the preceding, I ſhould then take the Sentence to begin there without Connexion, and as it might happen in the Excerpts of a Letter.

(*d*) Κρατοῦντων, it is true, may ſignifie to *Govern* in a Church, but it does as well to *Hold* or *Keep* a Practice; as in St. *Mark* vii. 3, 4. And this laſt Sence is more ſuitable to the Place.

(*e*) *Quidam enim putant uno tantum die obſervari debere jejunium, alii duobus, alii vero pluribus, nonnulli etiam quadraginta: ita ut Horas diurnas nocturnaſque computantes Diem ſtatuant.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Practice of Fasting mentioned about the Year 200, *by* Clemens Alexandrinus *and* Tertullian.

§. I. *The Weekly Fasts of* Wednesday *and* Friday, *mentioned by* Clemens Alexandrinus.

§. II. *Testimonies out of* Tertullian, *concerning both the Weekly and Ante-Paschal Fasts.*

§. III. *Observations upon those Testimonies. Some part of the Ante-Paschal Fast thought necessary by the Catholicks of his time; the rest Discretionary.*

§. I. NEXT in Order of the *Christian* Authors that remain to us, is *Clemens* of *Alexandria*; and who would have assisted us much in this Argument, had his Book, *Of the Paschal Season*, his *Dissertations about Fasting*, and possibly that *about the Ecclesiastical Canons, and against those that followed the Errour of the Jews* (a), been

(a) Euseb. Hist. 6. 13.

been now extant. In what is come to our hands, there is nothing to be found of the *Anniversary Ante-Paschal Fast*, or *Paschal Feast*: of the *Weekly Fasts* and *Festivals* there is an accidental mention made, and only for the sake of an Allegory. (*b*) *The truly knowing Person*, says he, *knows the hidden Meaning of the Fast of those two days*, Wednesday *and* Friday: *whereof the first belongs to* Mercury [the Idol God of Gain]; *the other to* Venus [the Heathen Goddess of Pleasure]. *For he fasts all his Life from Love of Money, and of Pleasure.* ---- *And such a one having performed what is commanded, makes that the Lord's Day, in which he puts off the Evil Mind, and takes up the Knowing one: celebrating that Resurrection of our Lord, which has been so wrought in himself.*

This is indeed Allegorical all: but it has a certain Ground, upon which it descants; and supposes as constant an Observation of those *two days* of the Week, as of the weekly Day of the *Resurrection*. They were the ordinary days of *Christian Assemblies*, the *Stations* we before heard of (*c*), commonly fasted to a Certain Hour; as the

(*c*) Ch. 2. §. 1.

the *Jews* had their Meetings in their Synagogues on their *Mundays* and *Thursdays*, when generally the devouter Sort did likewise Fast (*d*). Of these Days *Friday* was apparently chose for one, because on it our Saviour had suffered; and *Wednesday* is said to be the other, because he had been then sold to the High Priests: and further, we cannot but think, that these which were kept in some manner every Week, in the Memory of our Lord's *Passion*, should, in the *Passion-Week* it self, have been kept with great Solemnity.

(*d*) Luke 18. 12.

§. II. But this stated Observation of those two Days in the Week, is more directly mentioned by *Tertullian*, a Cotemporary of *Clemens*: as the *Paschal* Solemnity is also expresly remembred by him. He wrote the Treatises now extant, about the year 200 and a little after: and when most of them were wrote, was of the Heresie of *Montanus*; so that what we are to cite out of him, cannot be well understood, without some knowledge of his Sect.

Montanus, whom our Author unhappily followed, is supposed to have begun his New Doctrine about the Year

Year 172. He is ſaid not to have differed from the Catholicks in the main Articles of Faith (*e*), (though ſome of them were accuſed of *Sabellianiſm* (*f*), but only in ſome Rigours of Practice, which he enjoyn'd as by Divine Command. He abſolutely forbad all ſecond Marriages: condemn'd all declining of Danger in time of Perſecution: made the Abſtinence of the ordinary Stations to be longer, and more ſevere, diſmiſſing their Aſſemblies later, and allowing then a very ſpare Refreſhment. He ordered the *Faſt* before *Eaſter* to conſiſt of *Two Weeks* (*f* 2); and beſides, inſtituted two *New Lents*, or Seaſons of Faſting (*g*), each of a Week, excepting the *Saturday*; for they faſted no *Saturday*, but that before *Eaſter* (*h*). Theſe and ſuch like Ordinances he pretended to be dictated by the Holy Spirit, to him and his two Prophetesſes; on whom the Comforter had at laſt, according to our Saviour's Promiſe, deſcended, in a more plentiful manner than upon the Apoſtles, and with fuller and more perfect Inſtructions. Conſequently thoſe of this Sect, from their

pretences to the Spirit, and to a ſtricter manner of Life, took themſelves to be the only ſpiritual Perſons, calling the Catholicks Carnal and Animal Men(*i*): and eſteem'd the Writings of their two Propheteſſes, above the other Books of the *New Teſtament* (*k*); ſuppoſing them to be both the Completion and Concluſion of it, and admitting afterwards no more (*l*).

Of this Sect was *Tertullian*, a Man of an auſtere Life, and rigid Temper, and a fierce Diſputer: but excellently Learn'd, and after his peculiar faſhion very Eloquent. His Book concerning *Faſting* happens to be preſerv'd; where in Juſtification of his own Party, he ſumms up the Opinion and the Practice of his Adverſaries, the Catholicks, about that Matter. (*m*) *They accuſe us*, ſaith he, *that we keep Faſts of our own; that for the moſt part we prolong the time of our Stations to the Evening; and that we uſe the Dry Diet, feeding on no Fleſh nor Broth, nor any Juicy Fruit, neither Eating nor Drinking any thing that is Vinous: and that beſides we then abſtain from Bathing, an Abſtinence conſequent to ſuch a Dry Food. This they object to us*

for

for an Innovation, and conclude it to be unlawful; either to be judg'd Heretical, if it be a Humane Doctrine; or to be condemn'd for false Prophecy, if it pretends to be an Ordinance of the Spirit. So that we are either way to be Accus'd, *as those who* preach another Gospel. *For as to Fasts, they tell us, That certain Days have been appointed by God. As when, in* Leviticus, *the Lord commands* Moses, *That the* 10th *day of the* 7th *Month should be a Day of Propitiation; saying,* * It shall be holy to you; and you shall afflict your Souls; and every Soul that afflicts not it self that day shall be destroyed from among my People. *And in the Gospel, they suppose those Days determined to Fasting, in which the* Bridegroom *was taken* away; *and that those only now are the days appointed in ordinary for Christian Fasts; the old Observances of the Mosaical Law and the Prophets being now abolish'd, (for when they have a mind, they can understand what is meant by that,* the Law and Prophets were unto *John:) and therefore that, as for any other time, Fasting is to be used according to Discretion, and upon particular Occasions and Causes,*

* Lev. 23. 27.

ses, not by the Command of any new Discipline: For so did the Apostles, not laying upon the Disciple any other Burden, *of Set Fasts and such as should be observed in common by All; and consequently not of Stations neither, which have indeed their Set Days,* Wednesday *and* Friday, *but so as that they are to be kept discretionally, not by force of any Command, nor beyond the last hour of the Day, the Prayers then being generally ended by Three in the Afternoon, after the example of St.* Peter *mentioned in the* * Acts. *But the Dry Diet, our Xerophagy, is, they say, a new Name for a new affected Duty; too like the Heathen Superstition: being such an Abstinence as is used to* Apis *and* Isis, *and the Mother of the Gods.*

* Acts 10. 30.

This is his Representation of the Catholicks Thoughts, concerning the *Ante-Paschal* Fast, from which he argues in the 13*th* Chapter. (*n*) *You plead,* says he, *that the Christian Faith hath its Solemnities already determined by Scripture or Tradition; and that no other Observation is to be super-added, because of the Unlawfulness of Innovation. Keep to that ground if you can; for here I find you*

you your selves both fasting out of the Paschal Season, besides those days in which the Bridegroom *was* taken away: *and also interposing the Half-fasts of your Stations, and sometimes too living on Bread only and Water, as every particular Person thinks fit. You answer indeed that these things are done at your Liberty, and not by Command: but then you have quitted your Ground, and gone beyond your Tradition, when you do such things as have not been appointed you.* And so in the next Chapter (*o*), in answer to those who compar'd them to the *Galatians*, as Observers of *Days* and *Months*, he replies; That *they observe not the Jewish Ceremonies: but that to the New Testament there belong new Solemnities. Otherwise*, says he, *if the Apostle has abolished all Religion of Days and Times, and Months and Years; Why do we* [*both* Montanists *and* Catholicks] *celebrate the Paschal Season yearly in the first Month? Why do we pass the fifty days following in Joy and Exultation? Why do we consecrate* Wednesday *and* Friday *to Stations, and* Friday, [*or* Good-Friday (*p*)] *to Fastings?* ---*Although you Catholicks also sometimes continue* Sa-

turday, *a day never to be fasted, except in the Week before* Easter, *for a Reason given in another place* (*q*). And lastly, in the next, the 15*th* Chapter(*r*), taking notice that *the Apostle condemn'd those who commanded to abstain from Meats, foreseeing* Marcion *and* Tatian, *and such Heretics, who would enjoin perpetual Abstinence in contempt of what the Creator had made*; in Vindication of their own Sect from Heresie, he subjoins; *For how very little is the Prohibition of Meat we have made? We offer to our Lord two Weeks of* Dry *Diet, and those not whole Weeks neither,* Saturdays *and* Sundays *being excempted; abstaining then from such Food, which we do not reject, but only defer.*

To these Testimonies of *Tertullian* out of this Book, we may subjoin another out of his Dissertation about Prayers. (*s*) Where after he has explained the *Lord's Prayer*, and spoke of some Requisites to Prayer, he then comes to censure some superstitious Observances about it, and particularly taxes a Custom that had began to prevail: Those who were in a Fast, towards the Conclusion of their Assemblies, and just before the Communion,

munion, not ſaluting their *Brethren with the Holy Kiſs*, then always us'd on that occaſion. This declining to ſalute had been the Faſhion of the *Jews* in their Faſts, as a ſign of Sorrow: and is reprov'd here by *Tertullian* in Chriſtians, as being a kind of Oſtentation of their Faſting, and contrary therefore to the Direction of our Saviour, which commands us *not to appear to men to faſt. For now*, ſays he, *we are known to faſt by abſtaining from that Salutation. But if there be any reaſon for ſuch a Cuſtom, you may at your own home if you pleaſe, and among your Family, from whom your faſting cannot well be concealed, defer that Ceremony of Peace: but otherwiſe where-ever you may conceal your Faſt, you are to remember the Command; and by this means you will both keep your Rule abroad, and your Cuſtom at home. For ſo on* Good Friday, *when the Devotion of Faſting is Common, and as it were Publick; we juſtly forbear the Salutation; taking no care to conceal from the reſt, what is done together by us all.*

§. III. NOW from theſe Teſtimonies of *Tertullian*, it appears, *Firſt*, That the Religious Aſſemblies, or Sta-

tions, of *Wednesday* and *Friday*, were now well known and practised in the Christian Church, and generally supposed to have descended from the Apostles; as recommended by their example to the devouter Christians, and not as injoin'd the whole Body by any Precept.

Secondly, The constant Opinion of the Catholicks of his time presum'd, That *those days in which the Bridegroom, our Saviour, was taken away*, were to be fasted not at Pleasure, but by Direction; being design'd and determin'd to that Duty from the Beginning. This is certainly the Catholick Sence; as it is represented by *Tertullian* in the second Chapter in express words, where he speaks both of the Designation of our Saviour, and the Observation of the Apostles; and as it is again intimated by him in the 13*th*. Nor could it have been brought in question by Mr. *Daillé*, had he not studied his own *Hypothesis* too much.

Neither is that judgment of the Catholicks, concerning those days, any ways disparaged by the Interpretation they give there to our Saviour's Words (*t*). For though this Saying of his

(*t*) Matth. 9. 15.

his may be well underſtood at large, as it is by moſt Commentators, of thoſe Diſtreſſes and Afflictions the Diſciples ſhould fall under upon his Departure; the very mention of which they could not now bear: yet it will too very properly admit the other Meaning, and particularly imply ſome ſtated Days of Faſting, hereafter to be obſerved by them: and which our Saviour here predicts at leaſt, if not directs. They were priviledged now, by their attendance on the *Bridegroom* the *Meſſias*, from the ordinary *Monday* and *Thurſday* Faſts of the ſtricter *Jews*; or from others extraordinary ſet up by *John*: but when the *Bridegroom* ſhould be *taken away*, that Exemption, he tells them, would ceaſe; and, withal, new Cauſe of Faſting would ariſe, and new times be appointed. And then he adds, under the Figures of *a Garment*, and of *Bottles of Wine*; That neither would thoſe Faſts of his new Inſtitution be proper as yet, under the old Diſpenſation; neither were his Diſciples prepared now to undertake and obſerve them: but that hereafter, when all things ſhould be new, his New Diſ-

penſation

pensation should have New Fasts of its own; and his Disciples too become for them New Men, by the Renewing of the Holy Ghost. This Exposition of the Text, concerning such new Fasts in general, after our Saviour's Death, seems to be most natural; very apt, I am sure, it is to the Occasion, and Prosecution, of that Saying. And if then those general Words were by the first Christians applied in particular, to that very time of the Year in which He suffer'd, and on which they fasted, as by Apostolical Tradition; it is no wonder. For such secondary Applications of Scripture, to Subjects not seeming at first sight to have been intended by it, is very usual in the New Testament. And it is the known manner of the *Jews*, to accommodate the words of the Bible to such Practices as they take to be of Divine Authority, though they are hinted only and alluded to there, not expressed, much less commanded.

Thirdly, *Those Days* which were to be so fasted, are twice expresly mentioned in the Plural Number. And of *Those* Two are obvious, the *Friday* and the

the *Saturday*, in which he was Taken, Crucified, and Buried. These at least, must, I think, be understood by *Tertullian*'s Catholicks: neither has he given any where any contrary Intimation. For in the 14*th* Chapter of his Treatise of *Fasting*, the *Saturday* said there to be fasted sometimes, is, in all probability, not the Holy *Saturday*, but any other *Saturday* in the Year. (*p*) And in his Book of *Prayer*, *Good-Friday* is mentioned peculiarly, not simply, for its being a Common *Fast-Day*; but because it was a Fast-Day in which there was the usual Opportunity for the *Holy Kiss*, and in which it was omitted. Whereas on the *Saturday* they Assembled late, and spent the Evening in Baptizing the *Catechumens*: and that Day having in its Office no Place for that Ceremony, consequently gave not our Author the same occasion to speak of it. And thus much seems evident concerning *Two of Those Days*. But they were reckoned by others, as we have observed before, from *Wednesday*; and by some from *Monday*, the Fifth day before the *Passover*, the day of the Caption of the *Paschal Lamb*, ordered by

(u) Exod. 12. 3.

by *Moses* (u): in conformity to which they suppos'd our *Saviour* to have been at that time singled out, as it were, by the *High-Priests*, and determined for Sacrifice. This is certain, That, by many, all those Days were particularly observed; as we shall presently know from an Author but *fifty* Years younger: who is indeed the first that tells us of such a Practice; but, as we often intimate, must not therefore be supposed the first that knew it done.

Fourthly, Of *Those Days* the *Friday* was the most remarkable: for in that He was *taken away* actually; Apprehended, Crucified, and laid in the Grave; and accordingly It was always kept with a singular Devotion by the whole Church: the latter half of the Night (in which the Apostles should heretofore have watch'd) in Watching, and the Day too in Fasting and Praying. And for this Reason only we need not have wondered if *Good-Friday* had been particularly mentioned in the 14*th* Chapter of *Fasting*, as it is in the Treatise of *Prayer*. I confess from some words of the last Mr. *Daillé* would

would infer, That *Good-Friday* was not then obſerved by all Chriſtians: becauſe the Devotion of that Day is ſaid to be *Common, and as it were Publick*; or, as he ſometimes underſtands, *almoſt Publick*. And his Obſervation would have been true, had *Tertullian* ſaid *as it were* or *almoſt Common*: but when it is firſt term'd *Common*, without any Reſtriction, and after too ſaid *to be kept by All*; that Conſideration alone ſhould have lead that very Learned Perſon to the true Meaning of this Phraſe, *as it were Publick*. For *Publick*, he knew, does not only ſignifie what belongs to all; but what is expos'd, or appears to all: which laſt Sence, oppoſed to *Hiding* and *Concealing*, the Scope of the place evidently requires. And beſides it is plain, why *Tertullian* puts in his *as it were*: for he had after his ſtrict manner urged the Command of not Publiſhing a Faſt ſo abſolutely; that he could not, in the uſual Nicety of his Style, call even this *Publick* without ſome Limitation.

Fifthly, Of other Days than thoſe in which our Saviour was *taken away*, there is no expreſs mention in *Tertullian*.

an. But for ought appears thence, other Days there might have been obſerv'd, and ſome reaſon from him there is to think they were.

We have ſeen before how very probable it is, That the *Montaniſts* had a Faſt before *Easter* of Two Weeks, beſides their other two Faſts at other times of the Year: and had not the Catholicks of that Age obſerv'd ſome ſuch *Lent* too, additionally to the ordinary preſcribed Days; *Tertullian* muſt have been obliged to have accounted for this Innovation alſo, as well as for the other. Whereas in the 15*th* Chapter, he thinks himſelf bound to defend the other two Weeks only, as the Faſts peculiar to thoſe of his own Sect: and leaves us therefore to infer, That there was little difference between them concerning the *Ante-Paſchal* Faſt: the *Catholicks*, it ſeems, having nothing to object to the *Montaniſts* about the Length of it, but only about the Neceſſity as by Divine Command; and the *Montaniſts*, on the other ſide, not being able to defend their certain fix'd Fortnight, by producing any number of Days tho' more, which the *Catholicks* kept, becauſe

because they were kept by them uncertainly, and under no Divine Obligation.

From *Tertullian*'s Management of this Dispute, such reason there is to think that the *Catholicks* of his time had a longer *Lent* than of *those days* only. And upon the same Considerations, the violent Presumptions of Mr. *Daille* against it, will be found of no force: neither is he to be suffered to conclude, That the *Catholicks* then kept no such *Lent*, because he did not find it formally mentioned amongst *Tertullian*'s Objections in the 13*th* and 14*th* Chapters. Had indeed their *Lent* been then as *Determined* and *Formal*, as that of the *Latine* and *Greek* Church is now; the Forty Days before *Easter* might probably have been mentioned, as well as the Fifty after: but in that Age there was a great difference between them. For the Feast of the Fifty days was universally kept by all, and very solemnly: conspicuous if only by the Posture they used, their not kneeling at their Prayers. But neither was Forty, nor any other number of Days fix'd then generally for a Fast: and besides, as the

Days

Days were at Discretion, and rarely, I suppose, Forty; so the Fast was for the most part Private, and not distinguished by any Publick Action. For the same Reason of Uncertainty, the same Additional Days ought not to have been specified in the 13*th* Chapter, nor mentioned in any other manner than they there are, under the general Title of *other days besides those in which the Bridegroom was taken away.* Neither, I suppose, did he in that place think so much of justifying his *Ante-Paschal Lent*, (a thing the *Catholicks* would easily allow in Substance, though not in Form;) as of his other two *Lents*, which were absolute Novelties in the Church of Christ: and upon that account he might retort so upon the *Catholicks* in general, concerning the Abstinence they thought fit to use through the Course of the rest of the Year. But if any Adversary will impose upon *Tertullian* the necessity of pleading there only for his *Ante-Paschal Lent*; I may then, I think, with as much reason desire him to understand the Author there (as the word will signifie, we know (*n* 2)) not speaking of

of *other days Besides*, but of *other days Before those in which the Bridegroom*, &c. And then this Passage, instead of being an Objection against such a *Lent* at that time, will become an express Testimony for it.

(b) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. Ὁ γνωστικὸς οἶδε καὶ τὰ νηστείας τὰ αἰνίγματα τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, τὴν πλεόνεξίαν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν λέγω. Ἐπιφημίζονται γὰρ αὐτὰ μὴν Ἑρμῆν, ἢ ὃν Ἀφροδίτης. Αὐτίκα νηστεύει κατὰ τὴν βίον φιλαργυρίας τε ὁμοῦ καὶ φιληδονίας.—— Οὕτω ἐνιστάμενος καὶ τὸν Εὐαγγέλιον διαφραξάμενος, κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὃ τ' ἂν ἀπεβάλλῃ φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν φρασάσῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν κυρίᾳ ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων.

(e) Theodoret περὶ Αἱρεσιμαχῆς κακομυθίας.

(f) *Hier. ad Marcellum.* Theodoret. *Ibidem.*

(f 2) In *Sozomen*'s Time, as we shall find hereafter, *Ch.* 10. §. I. the *Ante-Paschal Fast* of the *Montanists* was of *Two Weeks*: and there is all Reason to think, That it had been so from the beginning of their Separation. For by that time the *Catholicks*, we shall see, fasted a much longer Space: and these great Fasters would hardly have been left behind, had not those *Two Weeks* been the Space determined them by their Prophet; and they obliged, as here follows, to keep punctually to all his Institutions.

(g) Hieron. ad Marcel. *Illi tres in anno faciunt Quadragesimas, quasi tres Passi sint Salvatores.* This is express for *Three Lents*: and that one of them was kept after *Pentecost*, the same Author informs us in his *Comm. in Matth.* cap. 9. *Montanus, Priscilla, & Maximilla etiam post Pentecosten faciunt Quadragesimam.* When the other *New one* was kept, I do not find ascertained. But it is plain from *Tertullian* that both made but *Two Weeks*, without the *Saturday*; as you may see in his Book, *de Jejun. cap.* 15. which we are going to cite. They were therefore of a Week each; and were kept, as appears from the 13*th Chapter*, at the same time when their *Two Yearly* Synods were held.

(*h*) This I take to be evident, from that place of *Chap.* 14. *de Jejun.* hereafter to be alledg'd; where *Tertullian* expresly says of the *Saturday*, and according to the Opinion of his Sect, that it was *Nunquam nisi in Pascha jejunandum.*

(*i*) These Names occur every where in *Tertullian*, and in this Treatise *de Jejun.* particularly.

(*k*) Theodoret. *in loco supra alleg.* (*e*).

(*l*) *Epiphanius* concerning this Heresie, *numer.* 2.

(*m*) Tertul.de Jej.*c.*1. *Arguunt nos, quod Jejunia propria custodiamus, quod Stationes plerumq; in Vesperam producamus, quod etiam Xerophagias observemus, siccantes Cibum ab omni Carne & omni Furulentiâ & Vvidioribus quibusq; Pomis, nequid Vinositatis vel edamus vel potemus: Laværi quoque abstinentiam, congruentem arido Victui. Novitatem igitur objectant de cujus Illicito præscribant, aut Hæresin judicandam, si Humana Præsumptio est; aut Pseudoprophetiam pronunciandam, si Spiritalis Indictio est: dum quaqua ex parte* Anathema audiamus, qui aliter adnunciamus. *Nam quod ad Jejunia pertineat, certos dies à Deo constitutos opponunt. Ut cum in Levitico præcipit Dominus Moysi decimam Mensis septimi, Diem Placationis;* Sancta, *inquiens,* erit vobis dies, & vexabitis animas vestras, & omnis anima quæ vexata non fuerit die illa exterminabitur. *Certè in Evangelio illos dies Jejuniis determinatos putant, in quibus ablatus est Sponsus; & hos esse jam solos Legitimos Jejuniorum Christianorum, abolitis Legalibus & Propheticis vetustatibus. Ubi volunt enim agnoscunt quid sapiat,* Lex & Prophetæ usq; ad Johannem. *Itaq; de cætero indifferenter jejunandum, ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ Disciplinæ, pro temporibus & causis uniuscujusque. Sic & Apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum, certorum & in commune omnibus obeundorum Jejuniorum; proinde nec Stationum, quæ & ipsæ suos quidem dies habeant, Quartæ Feriæ & Sextæ, Passivè tamen curant, neq; sub lege Præcepti, neq; ultra supremam diei; quando & Orationes fere Hora Nona concludat, de Petri exemplo quod Actis refertur. Xerophagias vero, novum affectati officii nomen, & proximum Ethnicæ superstitioni; quales castimoniæ Apim, Isidem & magnam Matrem certorum eduliorum exceptione purificant.*

(*n*) Ibidem Cap. 13. *Præscribitis constituta esse solennia huic Fidei, Scripturis vel Traditione Majorum: nihilq; observationis amplius adjiciendum, ob illicitum Innovationis. State in isto gradu si potestis. Ecce enim convenio vos, & præter Pascha jejunantes, citra* (*n* 2) *illos dies quibus ablatus est Sponsus, & Stationum semijejunia interponentes, & vero interdum pane & aqua victitantes, ut cuiq; visum est.*

(*n* 2)

(*n* 2) The very Learned Dr. *Beveridge* [in his *Cod. Canon. Apost. Vindic.* l. 3. c. 6.] suggests, That *citra illos dies* may well signifie the Season just before them, and denote a larger *Lent* to have been kept by the *Catholicks* of that time. That Meaning the Phrase will bear, but I have not given the Translation according to it, left any one should complain, That I produc'd a Testimony in a straitened, though a very proper Sence, which was capable of a larger.

(*o*) *Quod si nova Conditio in Christo, jam & nova Solemnia esse debebunt. Aut si omnem in totum devotionem temporum, & dierum, & mensium, & annorum erasit Apostolus; Cur Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in Mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Cur Stationibus Quartam & Sextam Sabbati dicamus, & Jejuniis Parasceven (p)? Quanquam vos etiam Sabbatum siquando continuatis, nunquam nisi in Pascha jejunandum (q), secundum rationem alibi redditam.*

(*p*) *Parasceve* by many is understood here to signifie *Good-Friday* in particular: because of the ordinary *Fridays*, as well as of *Wednesdays*, mention is made before. But the Word is never found to signifie after that manner in any other place: and besides, our Author has already spoke of the *Pascha* in the same Period; and with him we know *Dies Paschalis* is *Good-Friday*, (as we may see in the next Testimony to this, cited out of his Book *de Orat.*) and here in the Close of this Passage, the *Saturday* following is *Sabbatum Paschæ*. He seems therefore, after he had mentioned the Yearly Solemnities of the *Pascha*, and the *Pentecost* which begun on *Easter-Day*, to come now to the Weekly: and is understood by *Petavius*, [in his *Notes* upon *Epiphan.* p. 358.] to imply, That as both *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* were the Days assign'd for *Stationary-Meetings*, So the *Fridays* were appointed for *Fasts*: supposing the Word *Statio* not so much to signifie the *Half-Fast*, as the *Assembling*; and the *Jejunia* to be much above those *Semi-Fasts*, and of the stricter sort. This is certain, though *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* are joined together often; yet *Friday* is at other times particularly remember'd, and as the more solemn Day: as you will see hereafter, *Ch.* 5. §. I. and *Ch.* 7. §. I. And such a Sence the Words may carry, if at that time all the *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* were *Stationary*, and all the *Fridays* were *fasted*. But if the *Fridays* were not always fasted, but only held the most proper Days of all the Week for a *Fast*; yet then

there might remain a Sence apt enough, after this manner; *How come we to appoint* Wednesdays *and* Fridays *as most proper for Stations, and the* Fridays *as most proper for stricter Fasts?* And so the *Christians* might have chose a *Friday*, as the *Jews*, if they are to have a solemn Fast, chose for it their *Monday*, or *Thursday*.

All this is said upon this Passage as it is now read. But if there were any Manuscripts to be consulted, I should look after the Words *Quartam & Sextam Sabbati*, to see whether *Sextam* were not an Interpolation of some *Copyist*, who had observed them above, and thought they were wanting here.

(*q*) Mr. *Daillé*, willing to have *Montanus* the Enlarger of the *Ante-Paschal Fast*, would fain suppose the *Two New Weeks* of Fasting, which he instituted, to have been placed by him before *Easter*: and for that purpose cannot allow, That the *Montanists* fasted the *Saturday* before *Easter*; because, as we see out of *Tertullian* in the next Paragraph, in those Two Weeks they fasted not the *Saturdays*. But, on the contrary, we have learn'd from St. *Jerome*, That those Two Weeks were *Two New Lents* (note *g*): and we have found too (*f* 2) some Reason to think, That their *Lent* before *Easter* was of Two other Weeks, differing, we suppose, from such a *Lent* of the *Catholicks* only in this, That it was injoin'd as by Divine Precept. And besides, this very place will not endure such an Interpretation easily. For the *Montanists* are known to have declined Fasting on *Saturdays*, as much as the *Catholicks*: and upon that Account only, the *Sabbatum nunquam jejunandum nisi in Paschate*, may be said by them as of their own Judgment, and their own Practice. It is too most reasonable to understand it in such a manner. For here *Tertullian* speaks, and not the *Catholicks*; and must be therefore rather presumed to have given his Own, than Their Opinion: which Opinion besides, he says, was founded upon a Reason elsewhere given; and to say elsewhere, might be proper enough, if the Reason was any where given by himself in some Treatise of his, but it was too loose and uncertain, if the Reason was given by some *Catholick* in general; for where should one look for it? And who was he that gave it? To all this we may add, That if a *Catholick*'s Opinion were here express'd, and his Reasons meant, it would have been rather thus,

thus, *Quanquam vos etiam Sabbatum siquando continuatis, in Paschate Jejunandum secundum rationem alibi redditam:* for the Fasting on the *Saturday* of them who did it but sometimes, was to be the Doubt, and to require a Reason: though for *Tertullian* to give a *Catholick's* Reason, and not to censure it, would have been very unnecessary and very flat; Faults not usual in his Style. And on the other side, if the *Montanists* Judgement is there spoke, and they fasted not that *Saturday*, but the *Catholicks* did; it should then instead of *nisi* have been *nec*, and conceived in this manner, to the Reproach of the *Catholicks*, *Quanquam vos etiam Sabbatum siquando continuatis nunquam nec in Pascha jejunandum*, &c. Such a Reproof of the *Catholicks* was likely from *Tertullian*, and such a Reflexion is obliquely made in the Translation above; which tells of the *Catholicks*, That they too continue the *Saturday*, but that they should only fast that *Saturday* and no other, which yet some of them were used to do.

This is all true upon the common Supposition, That *Parasceve* signifies *Good-Friday* in this place. But if it be to be taken for any *Friday*, the Sence of the place is plain, and Mr. *Daillé* hath nothing to say.

(*r*) Cap. 15. *Quantula est enim apud nos Interdictio Ciborum? Duas in anno Hebdomadas Xerophagiarum, nec Totas, exceptis scilicet Sabbatis & Dominicis, offerimus Deo.*

(*s*) De Orat. cap. 14. *Jam enim de abstinentia Osculi agnoscimur jejunantes. Sed & siqua ratio est, ne tamen huic Præcepto reus sis, potes domi si forte, inter quos latere jejunium in totum non datur, differre Pacem. Ubicunq; autem alibi operationem tuam abscondere potes, debes meminisse Præcepti: ita & Disciplinæ foris, & Consuetudini domi, satisfacies. Sic & die Paschæ, quo communis & quasi publica jejunii Religio est, merito deponimus Osculum; nihil curames de occultando, quod cum omnibus faciamus.*

CHAP. V.

§. I. *A Testimony from* Origen *for the Devotion of* Fridays, *and of the* Paschal Season, *and thence to* Whitsuntide. *Another from him, but of* Ruffinus *his Translation, concerning the Fast of the* Quadragesima, *or the Forty Season.*

§. II. *A distinct Account of the Passion-Week from* Dionysius *of* Alexandria, *about the middle of the Third Century.*

§. III. *What were the first Paschal Solemnities mentioned by St.* Cyprian: *and concerning the Passion-Week.*

§. I. THE Age in which we now are from the 200*th* to the 300*th* Year from our Saviour's Birth, afforded not many Ecclesiastical Authors; and of their Writings most is lost: Neither was there any Dispute then in the Church about any thing relating to our Subject; so that we are not to expect very much Light thence. *Hippolytus* indeed, as we have mentioned above, wrote a large Treatise, as it

it ſhould ſeem, concerning the *Paſchal Seaſon*, Entituled, *A Declaration of the Times of Eaſter:* but of that, as we have ſeen, a very ſmall Fragment is preſerved. Neither, may be, would it have conduc'd much more to our preſent Purpoſe, than that Ancient Treatiſe which we have aſcrib'd to St. *Cyprian*, or that other of *Anatolius* which *Bucherius* has given us: which are only Calculations of the Time in which *Eaſter* ſhould be kept, and not Accounts of the Duty and Seaſon that was ſuppoſed to go before it. The little help therefore we ſhall find will be from *Origen*, and his Scholar *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

And from *Origen* we have but a tranſient mention of the Devotion of *Fridays*, and of *Eaſter*; and a doubtful one of the Seaſon before it. The firſt is in his Apology for the *Chriſtians* againſt *Celſus*: and there in Anſwer to an Accuſation of our Religion, as if it were ill-natur'd, becauſe the *Chriſtians* did not join in the *Feſtivals* of thoſe Times; he replies, that, according to the excellent Saying of one of the Heathen, *To do ones Duty, was to keep a Holy-day*; and

and that St. *Paul* had truly said, *ye observe days and months*, &c. *I am afraid of you.* But, continues he, (*a*) *if any one shall object to us our* Lord's-Days, *and* Fridays, *and the* Passover, *and* Pentecost: we reply, That a Perfect Man being always conversant in the Words and Works and Thoughts of the True Lord, makes every Day His, and always keeps the *Lord's-day*. And so being always in a Preparation of the True Life, and always abstaining from Pleasure, and keeping under the Body, he always keeps the Preparation-Day, [*Friday*]. In such a manner he keeps the *Passover*, passing from this Life to God, and hastening to his City. And thus he who can say with Truth, *We are Risen with Christ*, keeps the *Pentecost*. But one of the Common Believers, and not of the better kind, who cannot, or who will not keep every day a Holy-Day, wants such sensible Images for his Remembrancers, that he be not wholly deficient. This Passage is Allegorical, and like that of *Clemens*, our Author's Master, which we have cited above (in *Chap.* 4. §. I.): and it is here given, not only for a further

ther Confirmation of the Practice of obſerving *Fridays* and *Eaſter*, *&c.* but that the Reader may the better judge of a Reflection he may find made by *Socrates*, as if *Origen* had done wiſely to turn the *Paſſover* into *Allegory*, as he has done here, but more largely in that his *Homily* upon *Leviticus* which we ſhall next mention. For ſuch Allegorical Speculations, to which the *Platoniſts* were much inclin'd, may be admitted to refine and ſpiritualize, but not to evacuate the Letter. This we find here, where the Obſervation of the *Lord's-days* is allegoriz'd, as well as of *Fridays*, and of the *Paſſover*. And we might give another Inſtance from the ſame *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who refines in the like manner upon the *Ten Commandments* (*b*); but when he aſſigns his Spiritual Meaning, of *Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery*, or *Kill*, or *Steal*, muſt not be therefore ſuppoſed to have ſet aſide the Plain and Literal Sence.

(*b*) *Strom. 6. verſus Finem.*

Much more to our Deſign would that other Paſſage of *Origen* be, which we find in his *Tenth Homily* on *Leviticus*: where, after he has enlarged in an

an Allegory, against those who thought the *Propitiation-day* of the *Jews* was to be kept by *Christians*, he subjoins; (c) *But this we do not say, to let loose the Restraints of Christian Abstinence; For we have the Days of the Forty Season consecrated to Fasting, and we have* Wednesdays *and* Fridays *in which we solemnly fast.* And here, under that name of the *Forty Season*, now first met with, we should either understand a *Lent* of *Forty Days*, or some number of Days denominated at least from Forty; were we assured of our Authority, and had we the *Text* of the Author, and not the Translation of *Ruffinus*, for it. *Ruffinus*, I know, lies under an ill Name for Translating; and has not the Reputation of any great Exactness: but we have found reason to think, that he did not do *Irenæus* wrong; and it may be he has been suspected here much more upon Design, by those that are against *Lent*, than he has been asserted by those that are for it. However I shall be content at present, that this Testimony at the second hand, may pass for a Half-Proof; both out of the just Confidence I have, That within a little

little time it will appear, we wanted not this ſingle Evidence; as alſo with a certain foreſight, that it will then become highly Credible, and be ſeconded and ſupported by the whole Church.

In the mean time, from a Letter of *Dionyſius*, a Scholar of *Origen*'s, and Biſhop of *Alexandria*, which chanc'd to eſcape the Fate all his other Writings have ſuffered, and which was writ about the middle of this Age; we may learn ſomething more particular, concerning the *Faſt* of the *Paſſion-Week*. We have ſeen above, what a great Controverſie had riſen about the Day, in which the *Ante-Paſchal Faſt* ſhould end: and ſome, it ſeems, in thoſe Parts were now grown ſo curious, as to deſire to have the Hour determined, if not the Minute; proceeding upon that general Suppoſition, That the Faſt was to end at the Time of our Saviour's Reſurrection. A Biſhop of the Neighbourhood having been troubled about this Nicety, ſends to *Dionyſius*, the Famous Biſhop of that Capital City, for a Reſolution; and his Anſwer here follows. *(d) You wrote to me, right Truſty and moſt excellent Son,*

Son, inquiring what Hour of Easter-Day *the Fast should end. For some Brethren, you say, think it ought to end at Cock-Crow, and some the Evening before. For the Brethren of* Rome, *as they say, wait for the Crowing of the Cock: and those here, you tell me, are something sooner. But you desire me to give you the exact Hour, and that very precisely and scrupulously determin'd; a thing troublesomely nice, and in which it is easie to mistake. This indeed will be agreed by all, That we ought to begin our Festival Joy after our Saviour's Resurrection; Humbling our Souls with Fasting till that time comes. But you have proved in your Letter very well from the Holy Gospels, That it is not very exactly determined there, at what Hour it was that he arose.* Those places of the Gospels he then considers, and infers thus: That *the Setting out*, and *the Going of the Disciples, to the Sepulchre, was in the deep of the Morning, and very early; but that they spent in their Going, and about the Sepulchre, to Sun-Rising. This* (says he) *being the State of that Case. To those who are so scrupulous as to inquire for the very Hour, or Half, or*

Quarter

Quarter of an Hour, when to begin the Festival, we Answer thus. We blame those who make too much haste, and give over before Midnight----- And those who hold out longer, and continue till the Fourth Watch, we commend----- But to those who leave off in the mean time, as their Inclination or Ability has served them, we are not severe. For, (not to be nice about Hours) the Six Days of Fasting themselves are not kept equally, and alike by All. Some continuing without Food pass over (*e*) *the whole Six Days; some Two; some Three; some Four; and some not One. Now to those who have endured such Passings over without Sustenance, and grow unable to hold out, and are ready to faint, to them leave is to be given for an earlier Refreshment. But if there be any, who have been so far from thus passing over the preceding* [*Four*] *Days, that they have not so much as fasted* (*f*), *nay, it may be, have feasted, and then coming to the Two last and onely Days, and passing over the* Friday *and* Saturday, *think they do a great thing if they hold on to Day-Break: As to these, I cannot think that they have strove alike* [for the Mastery], *with*

those

those who had been engaged in the Exercise more Days before.

Here is, from great and unquestionable Authority, a very accurate Account of the Manner in which the *Christians* of *Alexandria*, and that Country, passed the Week before *Easter*. Nor is it to be doubted, but that those generally of other Places observed it with more than ordinary Abstinence; though they might not come up to all this Austerity; and though the *Ægyptian Christians*, as well as *Jews*, (for so I take *Philo*'s *Essenes* to have been) may have been the greatest Fasters each of their own Religion. Some, we are told, wholly abstain'd from Food, or pass'd over all the Six Days; some Four, beginning with *Wednesday*; some Three, and some Two. And these last did the least of those who pretended to *Pass Over*: for he mentions none who thought fit to begin on the *Saturday*, and so to pass over but One whole Day. He mentions indeed some who pass'd over not so much as One: but it is plain, that these were very few in comparison of the Rest; and it is besides observable,

ſervable, that thoſe who did not Paſs over a day altogether, might however in the Language of this Author have Faſted a day till the Evening: and in this manner it is probable they that Paſs'd not over one day, did however Faſt more than one, and poſſibly all the Six, in the ſelf-ſame Manner in which we now keep the moſt ſolemn of our Faſts.

Such Abſtinence was us'd in the *Paſſion-Week* at *Alexandria*; and, in probability, in moſt other Churches: for the Account of *Dionyſius* begins with the mention of *Rome*, and Other places; and does not at all ſeem to appropriate the Practice to that ſingle City. When therefore St. *Cyprian*, a Cotemporary and Correſpondent of *Dionyſius*, ſpeaks occaſionally of the firſt Solemnities of the *Paſſover*, which detained his Brethren, the Biſhops, at their own Churches (*g*); we may very well underſtand them to be the *Devotions* of the *Holy Week*: and ſuppoſe, that the Seaſon of Seven Days before *Eaſter*, and Seven after, which by the Law of *Theodoſius* the Great was made a Vacation in the Courts of Juſtice (*h*); had been

been before kept holy by the pious Usage of the elder *Christians*.

And this will seem the less strange, if we reflect upon the Practice of the *Jews* about the same Season. We shall hereafter endeavour to shew, that very much of the *Christian* Usages were derived from them: and it will not be deny'd by any, That our *Easter* answers in some sort to their *Passover-Day*, and the Seven Holy-days after the one, to the Seven after the other. This is acknowledg'd: but it is not improbable, that the Days before *Easter* had some such regard too. The *Monday* of that Week, we have seen in the last Chapter, was supposed to be the Day, in which the *High-Priests* resolved on our Saviour's Death; as it was appointed in their Law for the Day, in which they were to single out their Paschal Lamb: and this, as we there observed, may have seemed sufficient Reason to the Ancient *Christians*, to begin their stricter Devotion then. But it is besides observable, and remarked by *Theophylact* (*i*), That the *Jews* commonly began to make Entertainments, and commenced their Festivity the Day

Day before, that on which he ſuppoſes our Saviour was entertained at *Bethany*, the ſixth day before the *Paſſover*: (if they did not earlyer). And this, in the general, is the more probable, from the Appellation the *Jews* now give the *Sabbath* before the *Paſſover*, calling it the *Great Sabbath*: a Greatneſs, I ſuppoſe, in which the reſt of the days of that Week had their ſhare. For as the Scripture tells us (*k*), That *many came up before the Paſſover to purifie themſelves*, and to offer Sacrifices for their Sins: ſo too we may preſume, many came to pay the Peace-Offerings they had vow'd; and of them, the moſt ſolemn, the Euchariſtical, were not capable, by reaſon of their Leavened Bread which accompanied them (*l*), to be offered on any of the latter ſeven days, and made up therefore, as we have reaſon to think, the Solemnity of the Seaſon before. Now if thoſe days before the *Paſſover* were thus diſtinguiſhed among the *Jews*, by their *Feſtivity*; they might be among *Chriſtians* as much diſtinguiſhed by their *Abſtinence*: according to the Rule of that *Apoſtolical Conſtitution*, (produc'd by the *Audæans*, for their keeping the 14*th* Day, after the manner (*l* 2), I ſuppoſe,

(*k*) John 11. 55.

(*l*) Levit. 7. 13.

(*l* 2) See Ch. 1. §. 3.

pose, of the *Asiaticks)*; which *Epiphanius thus* gives us (*m*). *When They* [the Jews] *Feast, do you Fast, and Mourn for them; for in the day of their Feast, they Crucified Christ: and when they Mourn, eating their Unleavened Bread, with Bitter Herbs; do you Feast.* For here the time of *Feasting*, first mention'd, might be extended also to those Days *Before* (*m* 2): and not to a Week only, but a Fortnight. For with the Jews the First Twelve Days of that Month are esteem'd Festival, (*n*) as sacred to the Erection of the Tabernacle. And though we are told, that the Jews do no Penitential Office this whole Month; yet its Festivalness must be understood of its first half. For from, the Morrow of the Passover, the 16*th* day, they are like Mourners; and continue under that sadness; some, above Thirty Days; and some, all save one, to Pentecost (*o*). And so, tho' that Constitution specifies the 14*th* day only, for the time of Jewish *Mourning*; because on that only they were bound to eat the bitter Herbs, and that (*p*) Unsavoury Bread; yet the reason of the Ordinance might reach to the 7 Weeks from the 16*th*, in which the Jews forbid themselves all chearfulness; and which, as we have seen,

(*m* 2) See Part 2. Rep. 2. Ch. 1. §. 2. Ch. 3. §. 3.

(*n*) *Buxt. S. Jud. c.* 17.

(*o*) Ibid. c. 19.

ſeen, were ſtill paſs'd by *Chriſtians*, on the other hand, with all demonſtrations of Joy.

But to return to the Inſtances of this Age, of which we were now ſpeaking. It is plain, from what we chance to know of this Matter, That the *Paſſion-Week* was ſtrictly obſerved: And it will be unreaſonable to think, as ſome would perſwade us to do, That there was then no time faſted before that Week, becauſe here is no mention made by *Dionyſius* of ſuch a Time. For the Holy Man deſcribes the Faſting of this Week but caſually, and upon occaſion only; being led from the different Ending of the *Faſt*, to conſider its different Beginning. The Beginning therefore of ſuch a Faſt only was to be conſidered by him, which continued without Interpoſition of Food till *Eaſter-Day*: and for that Reaſon the Faſts of the preceding Weeks, which were diſcontinued, and ſeparated from the laſt Week, by the intervening *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, had no place here, and could not properly be mentioned by him on this Argument.

On the contrary, we cannot but presume, That those who kept this Week so strictly, did not fail to use some sort of Abstinence more than ordinary in the time before; if any such Season was then any where in use with *Christians*: such a Season as we had some Reason to infer from *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*; and shall find in the beginning of the next Age much celebrated, and observed well nigh universally. To which I may add, That if the Conjecture I offer at on *Socrates* (*q*) be admitted; it will then be probable, That full Three Weeks were formally kept at this time in *Rome*. For if in the Days of *Socrates*, when the *Catholicks* generally observed so large a *Lent*, the *Roman Novatians* observed but Three Weeks; it was, in all likelihood, for this Reason; Because the *Novatians* of that Place, where the Schism was first founded, adhered more stifly to the Usages of their first Separation, and would not comply with the Enlargements the *Catholicks* made, as those of the same Sect, in other Cities might have been induc'd to do.

(q) Ch. 10. §. III.

(a) Orig. cont. Cels. l. 8. p. 392. Edit. Cant. Ἐὰν δέ τις τοῦς πῶς τε ἀνδυποφέρῃ τὰ ἀεὶ τ παρ' ἡμῖν Κυριακῶν, ἢ Πασχαλῶν, ἢ τὸ Πάσχα, ἢ τ Πεντηκοστῆς δι' ἡμερῶν μιᾶς, λεκτέον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ μὴ τελεῖ τ ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὢν, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ τοῖς διανοήμασι τῇ τῇ ὄντι Κυρίῳ Λόγῳ ἀεὶ ὄντι ἀπὸ τ τ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἀεὶ ἄγει Κυριακὰς ἡμέρας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ φροντιζόντων ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἀπεχόμενος τ τὸ βίου ἡδέων, ἀεὶ ἄγει τὰς Πασχαλιάς. Ἔτι δὲ ὁ νοῦς, ὅτι ὁ Πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστὸς, καὶ χρὴ ἑορτάζειν ἑαυτὸν τὰ τ Σαρκὸς τὸ Λόγου οὐκ ὄντι ὅτε ἐν ποιεῖ τὸ Πάσχα, ὁ δὲ ἐνιαυσίαν Διαβάσειν, διαβαίνων ἀεὶ τὸ λοιπῶν, καὶ παντὸ λόγου, καὶ πᾶσι πρᾶξει ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ βίου πρεσβυμάτων ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ ὅτι τ Πολίτην αὐτὸ σωζόμενον. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὁ διωκόμενος μετ' ἀληθείας λέγειν, Συναιχμαλωτίζω τῷ Χριστῷ ἀεὶ ὄντι ἐν τ τ Πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέρας ὁ δὲ πολὺς τοῦ πεζεύειν δοκοῦντος, καὶ μὴ πολιτευόμενος τ Ἰουδαίοις χάριν, μὴ βιαζόμενος ἢ μὴ διωκόμενος πάσας ποιεῖ τὰς ἄγειν ἡμέρας, αἰδεῖ τοῦ Πασχαλείγματος, ἵνα μὴ τέλεον ὦσι φόβου.

(c) Orig. Hom. 10. in Levit. *Hæc tamen non ideo dicimus, ut Abstinentiæ Christianæ frenæ laxentur. Habemus enim Quadragesimæ dies jejuniis consecratos: Habemus Quartam & Sextam Septimanæ dies quibus solenniter jejunamus.*

(d) Dion. Alex. Can. 1. Ἀπέστειλάς μοι, Πιστότατε καὶ Λογιώτατε υἱὲ μου, πυνθανόμενος κατ' ἣν ὥραν ἀπανιστῶνται δεῖ τ τὸ Πάσχα ἡμέραν. Τινὲς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἀδελφὸν λέγειν φῆς, ὃν χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὥρας τ Ἀλεξανδρείας, πνὲς δὲ ὅν ἀφ' Ἑσπέρας χρὴ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀδελφοὶ, ὡς φασι, σκοπεῖν τ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀεὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐπαυθῆναι, ἕλεγχε ὅτι πάλαι. Ἀκριβῶ δὲ ὥραν πυθέσθαι ἐπιμέλειας, καὶ ὥραν πάνυ μεμεριμνῶν· ὅσον καὶ δύσκολον καὶ ἐπαλεθὲν ὄντι. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι ὡς τ τ Ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν κατέχει, χρὴ τ Ἑορτὴν καὶ τ εὐφροσύνης ἄρχεσθαι, μέχρις ἐκείνου τὰς ψυχὰς τ νηστείας πεπειθέναι, ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμοίως ὁμολογεῖται. Καταπεφάσκασι δὲ ὧν ἔγραψάς μοι πάνυ ὑγιῶς καὶ τοῦ θείου Εὐαγγελίου πειθόμενοι, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀπηκριβωμένον ἐν αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς ὥρας κατ' ἣν αὐτὸ φαίνει. Πάντων ἄτοπον ἐχόντων, τοῦτο τοῖς ἀκριβολογουμένοις δοκοῦν εἶναι καὶ πᾶσιν ὥρᾳν, ἢ καὶ πῶν ἡμιωρίων, ἢ ὥρας τέταρτον. ἀρχεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τ ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν Ἀναστάσει χαρᾶς. τοῦ μὲν λίαν ὅτι παχυμερῆς, καὶ ἀεὶ νυκτὸς ἐγρηγόρει ἤδη μετέσης ἀνάστασις μεμερόμεθα ——. Τοῦ δὲ ἐτυφεείζοντος καὶ διαρκοῦντος ὅτι πλείστον, καὶ μεχρὶ τετάρτης φυλακῆς διαγρηγορήσας, —— ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ οἰκλοπόνος ἀπεκλεχόμεθα. Τοῖς δὲ μεταξὺ, ὡς ἐκινδύνευσαν, ἢ ὡς ἐδυνήθησαν, ἀναπαυσαμένοις μὴ πάνυ ἀποχρῶσιν. Ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τοῦς ἐξ τοῦ νηστειῶν ἡμέρας ἴσως μηδὲ ὁμοίως πάντες διαμένειν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲ

μὲ καὶ πάσας ὑπερθίασιν (e) ἄσιτοι διατελοῦντες, οἱ μὲν δύο, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρας, οἱ δὲ ἑξάμερον. Καὶ τοῖς μὲ πάνυ διαπονθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ὑπερθέσεσιν, ἢ τὰ ἀποκαμόσι καὶ μόνοις ἐπλείποντο, συγχώρουν τὴν τροφὴν γάλατος. Εἰ δὲ τινες οὐχ ὅπως οὐχ ὑπερθυμοῦσι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ νηστεύουσιν (f), ἀλλὰ καὶ τρυφῶσιν τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἡμέρας, δῆλον ἐστὶ τὰς τελευταίας δύο καὶ μόνας ἡμέρας, αὐτὰς ὑπερθέντες τιμᾶτε Παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ Σάββατον, μίαν τε καὶ λαμπρὸν ποιεῖν νομίζουσιν, ἂν μέχρι τοῦ δειπνήσωσιν ἐκ οἴκου τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἀπόλυσιν αὐτῶν πεποιήκασι, τοῖς τὰς πλείονας ἡμέρας ἀφεστηκόσι.

(e) ὑπερθίναι may properly signifie to *Pass over*, *Put off*, *Postpone*; from ὑπὲρ, *Ultra*, *Post*; [as in *Phot.* ροϛ'. ὑπὲρ πάντα ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαπτ, is, *Post* quinq; dies]: and so θυσίαν, or θυσίαν, ἡμέρας α', ἢ ἡμέρ' ϛ', ὑπερθίναι, may be that their *Food* was *put off* for a Day, or *a Day put off* for their Food; as the word *Prorogare* will agree in both Constructions: and, in the latter, I suppose, *Diem Cibationi solitæ superponere*, is to be taken in *Solinus* [Cap. 28.]; tho' *Salmasius* understands it not *de cibo sumendo*, but *de sumpto*, [*Exerc. Pl. in Sol.* p. 324. Epist. Simplic. Ver. p. 203.] as if the Day were put *upon* the Food. Or, ὑπὲρ may answer to that other signification of the Latin *Pro* in *Prorogare*; as in *Prolatus*, *productus*, *protractus*: and so ὑπερθίναι Νήστειαν, may be, to *Prolong*, and *Protract*, or put *over* the *Fast* for one, or more Days; in which sence *Jejunii superpositio* [*Conc. Illiber. Can.* 26.] and ὑπέρθεσις τῆς νηστείας [See Ch. 8. lit. *e*] may be well understood: And possibly ὑπερθίναι ἡμέραν [μίαν], may also be much the same with our Authors διαμένειν, διατελεῖν; and signifie *transigere*, *Producere Diem*, *jejunio*; to *Pass* the Day, in Fasting; so, as *Tertullian* might mean by his *Sabbatum continuare*. [See the last Ch. lit. (*o*)].

(f) *Fasting* a Day, must be understood here in Contradistinction to ὑπέρθεσις, or the *passing over* a Day: and must therefore be taken for such an *Abstinence*, as will allow some Sustenance, at least, at the latter end of the Day.

(g) Cyprian. Epist. 56. *Edit. Oxon. Quoniam scripsistis, ut cum plurimis Collegis de hoc ipso plenissime tractem;* —— *& nunc omnes fere inter Prima Paschæ Solennia apud se cum Fratribus demorantur: quando Solennitati celebrandæ apud suos satisfecerint, & ad me venire cœperint, tractabo cum singulis plenius.*

(*h*) Just. Cod. Lib. 3. Tit. 12. §. 7. *Inter dies Feriales* recensentur, *Sacri Paschæ Dies, qui Septenario numero vel præcedunt, vel sequuntur.*

(*i*) Theophyl.

(*i*) Theophyl. in Joan. 12. 1. Τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς λαμβάνουσι τὸ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτῇ πυθησόμενον πρόβατον (*i* 2). Ἔκποτε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑορτὴν βαπτιζόμενον ἄρχον). Ἀμέλει καὶ τῇ πρὸ ἕξ ἡμερῶν, ἥ ὅτιν ἐνάτη τοῦ μηνὸς, ἀβρότερον ἐσιῶν), καὶ πρόσωμα τῆς ἑορτῆς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦτον ποιῶν). Διὸ καὶ Ἰησοῦς (ωπεσιᾶ)-εἰς Βηθανίαν ἐλθών.

(*i* 2) This Particular may be ſpoke by our Author out of *Exodus*. For according to *Maimon.* (*De ſacr. Paſch. Tract.* 1. *Cap.* 10. §. XV.) this Circumſtance, with ſome others præſcribed at the firſt Inſtitution, were obſerved the firſt *Paſſover* only, and never after.

(*m*) Epiph. Hær. 7. §. XI. Λέγουσιν Ἀποστόλοι, ὅτι ὅταν ἐκεῖνοι εὐωχῶν). ὑμεῖς νηστεύοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πενθεῖτε, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῆς Χριστὸν ἐσταύρωσαν. καὶ ὅταν αὐτὸ πενθῶσι, τὰ ἄζυμα ἐσθίοντες ἐν πικρίσι, ὑμεῖς εὐωχεῖσθε.

(*n*) *Maimonid. de ſolenn. Paſch. ſeu de Ferment. & Azym.* Cap. 6. §. I. This is obſerved by *Petavius* upon the place.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *A Mention of a Forty Days Fast, by* Peter *of* Alexandria, *before the Council of* Nice.

§. II. *Very probably they were the Days before* Easter.

§. I. AND so have we seen all along through the three first Centuries, as much mention of the *Ante-Paschal Fast*, as could be expected from the scarcity of Authors, and the rarity of the Occasion for such a mention: the Church having been generally imployed hitherto, either in Apologies for their Religion against the *Heathens*, or the Defence of it against *Heathenish Heresies*, or the suffering of Persecution for it. But now in the next Age, when *Christianity* comes to be owned, and countenanced by the Government; their Writings will be more frequent, and more copious, and express: and amongst other Observations of our Religion, we shall not fail to find sufficient Information of this, after which we are inquiring.

But

But before we come to those happy Days; the last fierce Persecution it self began by *Diocletian* in the *East*, according to *Baronius*, in the Year 302, and there continued by the Cruelty of those who governed that part of the Empire, gave occasion for some sort of mention of *Forty Days*, which it may be to our Purpose to observe. Before the Persecution began, and in the beginning of this Century, the Episcopal Chair of that great Christian City, *Alexandria*, in which the above-nam'd *Dionysius* had sate, was now fill'd by one *Peter*, a very venerable Person, Eminent for his Knowledge and Sanctity, and who at last suffered Martyrdom in the Year 311. And upon the rising of this sharp Persecution, the *Christians* had behaved themselves very differently: some had endured to the last with admirable Constancy; some yielded and deni'd their Religion, after the suffering of grievous Torments; some upon the offer of Torture, after they had undergone the Pains of Imprisonment; and some at the first Accusation. Of those too, who had not renounc'd, some had escaped by Flight;

Flight; some by buying off the Prosecution; and some by hiring Witnesses, to attest to some Idolatrous Act of theirs, which had been never done. Of all these sorts, there were many who desired to be re-admitted to the Communion of the Church, and some had now long sought it with much Lamentation: to whose various Circumstances different Rules were therefore to be suited, such as this *Peter*, after deliberation had with his Brethren, delivered in a Discourse now lost; but from which some Excerpts had been made in form of Canons, and by that means preserved to us. The *first* Canon, as *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* give it, is thus (*a*);

Whereas now the fourth Easter *is come upon this Persecution; it may suffice for those, who were accused, and imprisoned, and indured insufferable Tortures, and intolerable scourgings, and many other grievous Cruelties, but after all were betrayed by the Weakness of the Flesh;* [*for these, I say,*] *though they were not admitted into Communion at first, by reason of that their great Apostasie; yet because they strove much, and resisted a long while,* (*for*

(for they fell not upon Choice, but were betrayed by the Weakneſs of the Fleſh,) and becauſe they bear ſtill in their Bodies the Marks of their Lord, and ſome of them have been mourning theſe three Years; [for theſe, I ſay, it may ſuffice,] That a Penance of Other Forty Days, to be reckon'd from after their Admiſſion, ſhould be additionally inflicted on them, for their Admonition: which Forty days, tho' our Saviour had faſted after Baptiſm, yet He was tempted of the Devil; in which they too being exerciſed ſuperabundantly, and more earneſtly ſober, may watch unto Prayer, continually meditating on that Anſwer, given by our Lord, when he was urged by the Tempter to fall down and worſhip him; Get thee behind me, Satan, for it is written, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.

This is the *firſt* Canon: and for the better underſtanding of it we only add, That the *ſecond* impoſes another Year's Penance, upon thoſe who had ſuffered the Pain and Miſery of Impriſonment, but did not reſiſt Torture; and that the *third* puts thoſe off to the End of another Year for Trial, and not till then

then to receive their Sentence, who out of Fear and Cowardlineſs had yielded preſently.

§. II. Forty Days of Faſting, and ſtrict Devotion are here ſingularly and eminently mentioned: but in what part of the Year they were plac'd, it is not here certainly determined. If by *the fourth* Eaſter *is come*, as I have render'd it, may be underſtood *is now coming*; and the Biſhop's Diſcourſe may be dated before *Eaſter:* thoſe Forty Days would then be in all probability before *Eaſter* too, and the very *Lent* which we are now looking after. They muſt undoubtedly have ſome near Aſpect upon *Eaſter:* For why elſe is it mentioned, and the Years of Perſecution reckoned by it? And no time was ſo proper to re-admit Penitents ſolemnly to Chriſtian Communion, as this of the *Paſſover*; when the Pardon of our Sins was recogniz'd, by the ſolemn Memory of our Saviour's Death on the *Friday*; and the Holy Communion, the Sacrament of his Death, was ſo ſolemnly frequented on the *Sunday:* neither was any Seaſon of the Year more fit

fit for the ſtricter Humiliation of the Penitent, than that on which all good Chriſtians were ready to join in ſomething of the like Devotion. For this Reaſon, we may juſtly ſuppoſe, St. *Cyprian* (*b*) was conſulted before *Eaſter*, about the ſame Caſe, the Reconciliation of thoſe who had been Penitents three Years; that if he had anſwered favourably, they might have been admitted at the approaching Feſtival. So have we, under this Suppoſition, a *Lent* of *Forty Days* for Penitents at leaſt, to be kept throughout by them, and with great Severity: while the reſt, beginning as early, and uſing ſuch Abſtinence as their Diſcretion directed, and the Neceſſities of their Conſcience required; equalled generally the Auſterities even of thoſe, at the latter End. And this way if we are allowed to conceive the Canon, the *Other Forty Days* there mentioned, may then reſpect the former *Three Lents* that had gone before: except any one would rather underſtand that one *particular Lent* to be intimated, which had been kept by theſe *Chriſtians* juſt before they were Baptized, (which too was done generally

(*b*) Ep. 56. *Edit. Oxon.*

at

at *Easter*,) and which they were now ordered to keep in the same manner again, before they should be again received into the Church.

And thus the *Forty Penitential Days* will be the very *Forty Days* of *Lent*, if we suppose the Synod to be held before *Easter*: as the *Nicene* Council did order afterwards. But if it was not, and they did not concur with such a *Lent*, they will however infer It. Let us then suppose the *Synod* to have been assembled after *Easter*. And very probably it was; for it is not unlikely that the Order of the Council of *Nice*, in this Particular, was a Change of the old Practice; which Order was reversed in a little time, by the Council of *Antioch*: and besides we see that the Synod of *Ancyra*, a Synod held on occasion of the same Persecution, and much about the same time, did meet after *Easter*; for they speak of the *Great Day*, the *Day* of *Easter*; and seem to reckon it to be about a Year, before it would come again.

Under this Supposition, that Synod of *Ancyra* will help us to understand the other of *Alexandria* more particularly.

cularly. In its *6th Canon*, it decrees, (*c*) *That those who had yielded cowardly to bare Threats, and had not professed their Repentance till the time of the Synod, should be only admitted to Hear* the Scripture and the Sermons, (as hopeful *Unbelievers* were permitted to do) *untill the Great Day: and that after the Great Day they should be of the Class of those who Kneel'd*, and Pray'd, and Supplicated for Pardon, (as the *Catechumeni* did for Baptism) *and so continue three Years: And then for two Years more, they should Communicate with the Brethren in Prayer, but not in the Eucharist: And finally, after six Years thus spent, they should be received into full and free Communion.*

We find by this *Canon*, that the *Penitential Space* of time, were it longer or shorter, was generally determined by *Easters*: and see that *Peter* of *Alexandria* therefore reckoned by them. And further, when he does those miserable Penitents the Favour, after some Years Mourning, to enjoin them only the *Penance* of *Forty Days*: we understand his Indulgence to have been so much, as to have remitted that *Yearly* time,

time, they ſhould otherwiſe have been kept, at leaſt, from the *Euchariſt*; and to have given them their *Lent* immediately. For laſtly, when he ſays they ſhould *faſt other forty days*, and ſays this after *Eaſter*; we cannot doubt but that he refers to the *Forty days* lately paſs'd in *Abſtinence*, and which concluded the preceding Year; which too, as it ſeems, were paſs'd in ordinary courſe, and not by any particular Injunction of his, for he appears not to have given any Orders in this Matter before. So very probable it is, even from this accidental Teſtimony, That a *Lent* of *Forty Days* was kept at *Alexandria* before the Council of *Nice*: and that we ſhould ſo think, we are now going to ſee what great Reaſon there is from that Council itſelf.

(*a*) Dion. Alex. *Can.* 1. Ἐπεὶ πάνυ τέταρτον ἤδη Πάσχα ἐπικατέλαβε τὸν διωγμὸν, οὐτᾶρκῶς ἔχει τοῖς μὴ προσενεχθεῖσι καὶ φυλακιδεῖσι, βασάνους τε ἀνυποίστους ὑπομεμενηκόσι, καὶ ἀφορήτους μάστιγας, καὶ πολλὰς ἑτέρας ἀνάγκας δεινὰς, ὕστερον δὲ προσδιδομένοις ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς σαρκὸς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς παρεδέχθησαν διὰ τὴν φιλοκολακήσασαν μελίσσην πῆσιν, ὅμως διὰ τὸ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ ἠθλικέναι, καὶ ὅτι πολὺ ἀνπμάχεσθαι, (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προαίρεσιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐλπιδαστι, ἀλλὰ καταπροδιδόντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς σαρκὸς) ἐπειδὴ καὶ σήγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐνδείκνυσθ) ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἤδη πνεῖ τον ἕτερον ἔχοσι καταπεπεθάνλες, προσεπιμνῆναι αὐτοῖς

τοῖς ὑπὸ τ̃ προσελεύσεως καθ' ὑπόμνησιν ἄλλας τεσσαρεσκοντα ἡμέρας· ἃς καὶ ὁ νηστεύσας ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς οὐ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι ἐπειρέσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαβόλου· εἰς ἃς καὶ αὐτοὶ χρὴ τὸ πρέπον διαγυμνασθέντες, ἐπανωτέρω τε νήψαντες, χρηματίσωσιν εἰς προσόψας τὸν λοιπόν, καταμελήσαντες τὸ λειπόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τ̃ πειρασθέντα αὐτὸν ἵνα προσκυνήσῃ αὐτῷ, ὅπερ ὅπισω μου Σατανᾶ, γέγραπται γὰρ, Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

(c) Conc. Ancyr. Can. VI. Περὶ τοῦ ἀπειλῆ μόνον εἰξάντων κολάσεως, —— καὶ θυσάντων, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος χαρᾶ μὴ μετανοησάντων μηδὲ ὑπηρεσιάντων, νῦν δὲ παρὰ τ̃ χαρὰν τ̃ Σωτῆρος προσελθόντων, καὶ εἰς διαθεσιν τ̃ ἐπιτροπῆς γνωμῶν, ἔδοξε μέχρι τ̃ Μεγάλης ἡμέρας εἰς Ἀκρόασιν δεχθῆναι, καὶ μετ̃ τ̃ Μεγάλην ἡμέραν ὑποτιθεῖν τρία ἔτη, καὶ μετ̃ ἄλλα δύο ἔτη κοινωνῆσαι χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, καὶ ὅτως ἐλθεῖν ὅπὶ τὸ τέλειον, ὥστε τ̃ πᾶσαν ἐξαιρεσιαν πληρῶσαι.

H CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. Good-Friday, *and Days of solemn Fasting mentioned by* Constantine.
§. II. *The* Forty Season *expressly mentioned by the* Council *of* Nice.
§. III. *And that* Forty Days *are to be understood, proved from St.* Chrysostome.

§. I. WE come now to the first General Council, Assembled at *Nice*, under the first *Christian* Emperour, in the Year 325: and amongst other things taken into their Consideration, another *Paschal Difference* was then adjusted. The *Syrians*, it seems, (*a*) and *Cilicians* without *Taurus*, and the *Mesopotamians*, though they kept the *Resurrection-day* on a *Sunday*, according to the Resolution in *Victor*'s time (*b*); yet agreed so much with the *Jews*, as to follow their wrong Calculation, and begin the Year sooner than they ought; by which means this *Paschal Season* often happened before the *Æquinox*: whereas the rest of *Christendom* had all used a more

a more Reformed Account of their own, agreeable to the Directions of *Moses*. It was therefore thought fit by the Council, That such a notable Difformity among *Christians*, and such an Agreement with the *Jews*, in the *Principal Christian Solemnity*, things in that time, as it appears, very scandalous, should no longer continue: which Regulation the Emperour himself considered so much, as to notifie and recommend it to the Churches in a Circular Letter, transmitted to after Ages by *Eusebius*. There (*c*) he tells them, That *a Question having been raised about the most Holy Day of the Passover, it was thought fit, by unanimous Consent, to keep it every where on the same Day.---- That it was extreamly improper to keep that most Holy Feast, from which we have received the Hopes of Immortality, after the Custom of the Jews, who embrued their hands in that wicked Action.* That *setting aside the Jewish Manner, there was a truer Course and Calculation, by which the Solemnity of that Observation, which had been kept from the first Passion-Day, might be hereafter perpetuated to all Ages*----. That *be-*

sides the Absurdity of Erring with their Enemies the Jews, there was an Unfitness in their Disagreement among themselves. That *our Saviour had delivered to us One Feast, the Day of our Redemption or Freedom, that of his most Holy Passion, and* that *he had ordain'd one Catholick Church: and* that *therefore they might consider, How improper it was for some Parts of that Church to be Fasting, whilst others were Feasting; and some after the Days of the Passover were over, to be in Joy and Festivity, while others were at their Solemn Fasts; and both of them for the same common Reason.*----- That *he promised himself their Assent to that, which was already uniformly observed in* Rome, *and* Africk, *and all* Italy; *in* Ægypt, Spain, France, Britain, Libya, *all* Greece; *the Dioceses* (*d*) *of* Asia *and* Pontus, *and in* Cilicia *within* Taurus; *and not only because there were the Greater Number; but because it was the right Course, and the Christians were besides to have no Communication with their and our Saviour's Enemies the Jews.*

In this Imperial Letter, we may (1) observe the extraordinary Notice that is taken of *Good-Friday: That* alone

lone of all the *Paſchal Seaſon* is ſpecified; and *Eaſter-Day* it ſelf is unmentioned, as if it were the leſs Principal. And this, it may be, was done in Honour to the Catholick Doctrine, and againſt the New Hereſie of *Arius*; which depreſſed infinitely the Dignity of our Saviour, and the Merit of his Sufferings; as it was the Day of the *Paſſion* of God, and not of any Creature. Whereas on the contrary, the Reſurrection of a Creature, ſhould have been mentioned before its Paſſion, as the more Extraordinary and Remarkable of the Two, both for its Cauſe and Manner, and its Effects and Virtue. But whatever might be the Reaſon of this ſingular Mention of *Good-Friday*; this is certain, That every *Friday*, for the ſake of the *Paſſion*, had by an Edict of this Emperour (*e*) the like Exemption from Civil Buſineſs with the *Lord's Day* it ſelf: as, we may remember, *Origen* above gave it an equal Remembrance, if *Tertullian* too did not diſtinctly ſpecifie it before.

(2.) *Solemn* and prescribed *Fastings* are here spoke of, and before *Easter*: But how many they generally were, and how far they reach'd, we are not told from this, no more than from other Authorities we have heretofore vouch'd. We should indeed presume that they might have made up the *Holy Week* from *Dionysius*; or it may be a Week or two before, from what we observed on *Tertullian*; and when we concluded from *Peter* of *Alexandria*, That they were about *Forty*, a Term remembered by *Irenæus* before, we could not have been thought to have stretch'd too far, and been overfond of that Number. But a Canon of the same Council, accidentally mentioning the *Ante-Paschal Fast*, will sufficiently authorize the Opinion.

§. II. THE 5*th*. Canon (*f*) after it has decreed, (upon the Occasion, it is suppos'd, of *Arius*, having been received into Communion by *Eusebius*, notwithstanding his Excommunication;) *That those who have been Ejected by one Bishop, should not be Admitted by another*: to provide against unjust Excommunications

munications upon Quarrel and Passion, does order, *That for the Examination of such Causes, Two Synods a Year should be held in every Province. And these*, says the Canon, *shall be held, The One before the* Forty Season, *that all Quarrel and Animosity being first laid aside*, [as our Saviour directs,] *a Pure and Acceptable Gift may be offered unto God*, [in the Devotions of that Holy Time;] *and the Other in* Autumn.

Here now is a certain undisputed Mention of the *Forty Season*, made by this Great Assembly of Confessours: but Mr. *Daillé* is very unwilling to understand them of *Forty Days*. He rather would think, because the word *Forty Season* will be found hereafter some times to signifie a *Lent* in general, and of uncertain Space; that therefore it arose first from the *Forty Hours* he fansied in *Irenæus*, and afterwards gave its name to that *Fast* as it increas'd in Space; and was now at length come to signifie the *Passion-Week*; as it will hereafter in some time have so many *Days* added to it as shall make up the Number *Forty*. And, he says, *Forty Days* must not be understood here: for in

so large a time, new Quarrels might be rais'd; and the Synods too must be held in *February*, an inconvenient Season for the Bishops to travel.

But this Original of the *Forty Season* from so many *Hours*, is a meer Singularity, and grounded upon a very doubtful Construction of *Irenæus* his Phrase, which rather requires to be understood of *Forty Days*, as has already appeared. Neither is it reasonable to imagine, That a Word which signifies *Forty*, should be put to signifie *Six Days of Fasting*; now when we know from the Church of *Alexandria*, that *Forty Days* have been before observ'd for a Solemn Space of Penitential Devotion: and much less reasonable when we shall know, that so many Days in this self same Age hereafter will always be aim'd at, and as near as may be approached to, in the Computation of *Lent*, as we shall presently see.

§. III. THERE is therefore little need that I should go further for the fixing the Signification of that Word

Word in this Canon: but it may be further cleared from St. *Chryſoſtome.* He was in *Antioch*, the chief place of the *Eaſt*, where that *Jewiſh* Account of the *Paſſover* was kept, which the Council of *Nice* had ordered to be reform'd: and the People were ſo addicted to it, (as they were too to other Cuſtoms of the *Jews*); that though the Obſervation of it was again forbid by a Council at *Antioch* in the Year 341; yet ſome of them continued ſuperſtitiouſly to adhere to it, and obliged this Eloquent Prieſt, to interrupt the Order of his Diſcourſes, and to beſtow one whole Sermon upon the Correction of their Schiſmatical Diſſent. They imagined that *Eaſter* was neceſſarily to be kept at the Time of *Unleavened Bread*, and pretended that this had been their Ancient Uſe. St. *Chryſoſtome* therefore acquaints them, That *the Alteration was made by the Wiſdom and Piety of the Great Council of* Nice, *thoſe illuſtrious Confeſſours of the Chriſtian Faith: that they thought it unfit for them any longer to follow the Jews in their erroneous Calculation, and that the whole World agreed to the Ordinance.* He tells them,

them, *That the Jewish Passover is abolish'd; That Christ is the Passover of the Christians; and That it is celebrated by them every Communion.* To which he adds, (g) *Why then, say you, do we fast these Forty Days? Because anciently many were used to come to these Mysteries without due Preparation, and particularly at this time in which our Saviour instituted the Sacrament; the Fathers knowing well the Mischief of such a Negligence, being come together, appointed Forty Days of Fasting, Praying, Hearing, and Assembling; that we being all carefully purified in these Days both by Prayer, and by Alms, and by Fasting, and by Watching, and by Tears, and by Confession, and by all other Duties; may so draw near, as far as is possible for us, with a pure Conscience. And how great the Success of this Ordinance was, in bringing us to a Custom of Fasting, is very evident hence. For if we all the Year long Cry up and Preach the Duty of Fasting never so much, there is no body that hearkens to what is said: but when the Season of the Forty Days is once come, tho' none exhort or advise them; yet every one, even the most negligent, sets him-*

self

ſelf to it, by the Advice and Exhortation of the Seaſon.

Now I take it to be very plain, That the Fathers here ſpoke of for *Lent*, are the ſame with thoſe mentioned but juſt before for *Eaſter*. For had they been of any other Council, or Synod; they would have been nam'd with ſome diſtinction. And if any one would be ſo unreaſonable, as to ſuppoſe ſome other Council meant, yet he muſt remember, that it muſt be ſuch a one as might be ſtil'd *Ancient* about the Year 390; and therefore rather before that of 325, than after: and then he muſt withal reflect, that he gives me an Earlier Authority, than that for which I now contend. But unqueſtionably, as I think, St. *Chryſoſtome* muſt be underſtood of the *Nicene* Fathers: and if we take his Judgment, we ſee evidently that they, by their *Forty Seaſon*, could intend nothing elſe but their *Forty Days*. It is true indeed, that there is no particular *Canon* to be found, that injoins this *Lent* of *Forty Days*: but neither is the Ordinance about *Eaſter*, found in the *Canons*, though it was ſuch a diſputed Point. And it may too

too very well be, that the Observation of *Forty Days* was rather interlocutorily agreed upon, than formally determin'd; and not therefore injoin'd in any other *Canon*, but imply'd in this of which we now speak; and that the Churches of differing Customs, voluntarily came in to this Uniformity of *Lent*, upon the general Direction they received to Conform in the Celebration of *Easter*.

So has it appear'd, That Mr. *Daillé*'s Refusal, to understand *Forty Days* by the *Forty Season*, was not only ungrounded and arbitrary, neither derived from the Practice just before the time of the *Canon*, nor agreeable to that after; but withal directly contrary to the express Affirmation of St. *Chrysostome*. For as to the Objections he has brought, if they are worth mentioning: the Inconvenience he fansies, that in so long a time as *Forty Days* they might quarrel again, after their Synodical Reconciliation; seems to be said with more Favour to his own *Hypothesis*, than Respect to those Venerable Persons: and the other of a *February* Journey, though of Elder Men,

Men, to the *Metropolis* of a Province, where other Buſineſs too might call them, is not very great; it was not at leaſt ſo conſiderable to the *Nicene* Fathers, as that of their continuing at Difference one with another in the *Holy Seaſon.* But not to be difficult in ſmall things; we will grant that this Inconvenience might be one of the Reaſons, why the above-named Council of *Antioch*, by the 24*th Canon*, reſtor'd it to its former Place after *Eaſter*, and ſettled it in the 4*th* Week: and it ſeems indeed by the ſpecial Aſſignation of a Reaſon, for the time of a Synod before *Lent*; that it was firſt fix'd there, by this Council of *Nice.* However after all, the *Forty Seaſon* there muſt ſtand for *Forty Days:* and we cannot but obſerve, That it is not ſet down as any newly rais'd word, but as one already well known, and of as common a Signification as *Spring* or *Autumn.* From whence what we have before ſuggeſted, plainly now appears, That ſuch a Number of Days had been in much Uſe before in many places, at leaſt in the laſt Age: tho' no mention of them happen'd to occur, in the few *Writings* that remain.

(a)

(*a*) Athan. ad Afr. Ep. Οἱ κατὰ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν διεφώνουν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ πρὸ καιροῦ ἐν ᾧ ποιοῦσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐποίουν καὶ αὐτός

(*b*) so *Socrates* understands. For after he has given an Account of the *Asiatick* Custom, against which *Victor* declar'd; he proceeds to peak of the Usage this Council rectified, in these Words. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην κατὰ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἀσίαν τὴν παραφυλαττόμενον παρετήρουν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀναστασιακὴν Μάρκου τὸν Σάββατον μὲν τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐτήρουν, διεφώνουν δὲ ἀεὶ τὴν Μόνα. Socrat. l. 5. c. 22. Besides it is plain from that Homily of St. *Chrysostome* we shall presently cite, (notwithstanding what is said to the contrary by Mr. *Daille*, *de Quadrages. pag.* 422; that those of *Antioch* in his time, who did not conform to the Council of *Nice*, did however keep their *Easter* on a *Sunday*. For he tells them, That *were the Calculation of the Jews never so exact*, &c. *yet they could not keep the precise Day, because the* First *of Unleavened Bread and a* Friday *would not always come together.* [Edit. Savil. Tom. 6. p. 383. l. 7.] and *it is in that Case*, says he, *impossible for us, you, or any one else, to hit the very* Sunday, *οὐδὲ ὁλοκλήρως τὴν Κυριακὴν ἡμεῖς.* [*ibid.* p. 384. l. 33.] He lays the Difference too in the different Reckoning of the Months, (as *Socrates* does;) when he says, That *they should be careful of coming to the Sacrament worthily, and with the Wedding Garment; but that they need not be so fearful of keeping their* Easter *after the* Christian *Account, were it less accurate. For they were to Answer, and should be Punished, for the other Neglect:* ὅτι τὴν τοῦ δεινὰ Μωὶ καὶ τὸν δεινὰ οὐκ ἐποίησε τὸ Πάσχα, οὐδεὶς ἐκολάσθη ποτὲ, οὐδὲ ἐστεφανώθη· [*ibid.* 382. l. 32.] *but no man was ever punished, or so much as found fault with, for keeping* Easter *in this Month, and not in another.*

(*c*) Eus. de Vit. Const. l. 3. c. 17, 18. ——Ἕξεσι γὰρ τῶν εἰκόνων ἔθος ἀποβαλόντες, ἀληθεστέρᾳ τάξει, καὶ ἐκ προφάσεως τῶν Πάθους ἡμέρας ἄγει τὸν παρόντα ἐφυλάξαμεν, καὶ ὅλου τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος τὴν τῆς ὁλοπληρώσεως πάντες συμπληρώσωμεν ἐκλείνειν. —— Μίαν γὰρ Ἑορτὴν, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐλευθερίας ἡμέραν, τετίμηται τὸ ἀμωμότατον Πάθος, ὁ ἡμάτερον παρέδωκε Σωτήρ.

(*d*) Διοίκησις Ἀσιανὴ is in this place to be understood properly, and exclusive of the *Asia Proconsularis*; if the Bishops of *Asia Minor*, strictly so termed, continued to observe the 14th Day, as *Anatolius* affirms for his time, and *Socrates* seems to assert for the time of the *Nicene* Council. Though it be hard

to

to think that the Churches of the *Proconsular Asia*, if they had still retain'd the old *Quartodecimarian* Errour, should not have been included in this mention: and that the Council would have been so silent concerning this Errour, kept up against the Ancient Determination in so near and famous a Countrey; when we find them so zealous against those who were at a greater distance, and whose Practice was less Judaical.

(*e*) *Euseb. de Vit. Constantin.* l. 4. c. 18. *ex emendatione Valesii. Sozom.* l. 1. c. 7.

(*f*) Concil. Nicen. Can. V. ——— Αἱ δὲ Σιῶσδοι γενέδωσαν, μία μὲν περὶ τεσσαρακοσῆς, ἵνα πάσης μικροψυχίας ἀναιρεμένης τὸ Δῶρον καθαρὸν προσφέρῃ τῷ θεῷ· δεύτερα δὲ, καὶ τὸν τῦ μετοπώρυ χειμῶν

(g) Τίν θ' ἕν ἕνεκεν νηςεύομεν, φησὶ, τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ταύτας ἡμέρας; Πολλοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν τοῖς μυςικοῖς προσήεσαν ἁπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ μάλιςα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῦ τόπου καθ' ὃν ὁ Χρις ὸς αὐτὸ παρέδωκε Συνεδόντες ὖν οἱ Πατέρες τῶν βλάβων τῶν γινομένων ἐκ τῆς ἀμελεμένης προσόδυ, Συνελθόντες ἐπύπω πν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα νηςείας, εὐχῶν, ἀκρεόσεως, Συνόδων, ἵν ὁν τῶς ἡμέρας ταύτας καθαρεύοντες μετ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντες, καὶ δ' εὐχῶν καὶ δ' ἐλεημοσυνῆς, καὶ διὰ νηςείας, καὶ διὰ παννυχίδων, καὶ διὰ δακρύων, καὶ δ' ἐξομολογήσεως, καὶ διὰ πᾶν ἄλλον ἁπάντων, ὅπω κατὰ τῶν δικαιωμὸν τῶν ἡμετέραν μετὰ καθαρᾶ τὸ Συνεδρίθ προσκωμεν Καὶ ὅπ μέγα καθώρθωσαν, διὰ τῆς Συγκαταβάσεως ταύτης εἰς Συμπάθειαν ἡμᾶς νηςείας κατασήσαντες, δῆλον ὁπεῖδεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἂν διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὀνειρῶν μόνον βοῶντες καὶ κηρύττοντες νηςείαν ἀδεῖς πρόσχει τοῖς λεγομένοις· ἂν δὲ ἐπεῖ μόνον ὁ τῆς τεσσαρακόςης χαρὸς, καὶ μηδενὸς παραινέντος μηδὲ Συμβιβάζον θ καὶ ὁ σφόδρα νοηρότα θ διανίςατο, τῶν θεῖον τὸ χαρᾶ λαμβάνον Συμβιβῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν. Tomo Sexto Savil. Εἰς τὸν τὰ Πρῶτα Πάσχα νηςεύον. pag. 381.

CHAP.

CHAP VIII.

§. I. *This Forty Season particularly observed by the Candidates for Baptism.*
§. II. *And by Penitents.*

§. I. FOR the time that follows, we shall have little Dispute about the Practice of *Forty Days*: that there was such a Solemn Time before *Easter*, some way or other observed in all the Churches, none will deny. This is evident and absolutely unquestionable, from St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, St. *Ambrose* of *Milan*, St. *Chrysostome*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Augustine*; who expressly mention Forty Days; as the Council of *Laodicea*, and *Athanasius*, speak of more Weeks than one of the *Forty Season*. I shall not therefore ttouble the Reader with the unnecessary Allegation of all those Testimonies; but only with such who inform us, That this *Lent* was still most particularly observed by those two kinds of Men we heretofore intimated (*a*), the *Candidates* for *Baptism*, and the *Penitents*.

(*a*) Ch. 2. §. II.

Of

Of a *Fast* before *Baptism*, I gave there a very early Testimony from *Justin Martyr*: and what was then further intimated, might have been confirmed from *Tertullian*, That *for Baptism the Paschal Season afforded a solemn Day.* And now in this Age, we cannot but think, That the *Lent* of Forty Days, which is acknowledged to have been kept commonly by all the Faithful, was more particularly observed by those who were to be *baptized* at the conclusion of it. On this Subject therefore it will be enough, to produce the single Evidence of St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem.*

He is judg'd to have been made Bishop there in the Year 350: and was *Presbyter Catechist* before; whose Duty it was to instruct and prepare those Candidates, and whose Catechistical Lectures are still preserved. In the *Prologue* he forewarns them, *to take care and provide the Wedding-Garment. I admonish you,* says he, (*b*) *now before the Bridegroom of our Souls comes, and sees your Dress. There is a large Time given you. You have the Penance before you of* Forty Days: *sufficient Space and*

Opportunity, to put off the old Garments, and to wash off their Filth, and to put on the new ones, and to come in. Likewise the first *Sermon* to them, he thus begins: (*c*) *You Disciples of the New Covenant; and Partners of the Mysteries of Christ, by Call and Invitation now, and within a little while by actual Gift and Grace; make to your selves a new Heart and a new Spirit.* Then he tells them, That *they shall have a new Name; and he that was called a* Catechumen *before, shall now be stil'd* Faithful.----- *But though this Grace is freely given, they must not therefore be negligent: the present Season is a Season of Confession-- All worldly Cares are to be laid aside: for you strive,* says he, *for your Souls.* Adding, *And you that have been busie about the things of the World, troubled in vain so many Years: Will ye not bestow* Forty Days *in Prayer, for the Salvation of your Souls.* And when the *Catechumens* had in this manner spent the Forty Days, *abstaining from Flesh and Wine* (*d*); and had passed over the *Friday* and the *Saturday* of the *Passion Week*, in *Vigils* and a *continued Fast* (*e*); they were then in the Evening before *Easter* baptized.

This

This was unquestionably the Practice of the Fourth Century: and now I shall leave the *Reader* to observe, how much of this *Tertullian*, in his Book of *Baptism*, describes as done in his time. After he had said what we now cited, That *there was in the Paschal Season a more solemn Day for Baptism*, he adds in the next *Chapter*, (*f*) *Those who are going to be baptiz'd, ought to pray with frequent Prayers, with Fastings, and Kneelings, and Watchings, and wth the Confession of all their former Sins. For by this Affliction of the Flesh and the Spirit, we at the same time make some Satisfaction for what is past, and fortifie our selves against Temptations for the future.* Watch and pray, *says he*, that ye enter not into temptation. *And I presume they* [*the Disciples*] *were therefore so far tempted, because they slept------ Our Lord himself was surrounded with Tentations, presently after his Baptism, when he had performed* [*his*] *Fasts Forty Days. And therefore may some one say, We too should rather fast after Baptism:* -------- Now in this place I confess, it is not evident, that the *Paschal Vigils*, and the *Forty Days Fast* before *Easter* are particularly

meant; and therefore heretofore I did not bring this Passage for a Proof: but neither is it improbable that they are intended; for the time of the Apostles sleeping agrees to the time of those *Vigils*; and the Forty Days Abstinence of our Saviour, being not mentioned with any intimation of the one continued extraordinary Fast, but as so many Fastings, may also well refer to those of the *Catechumen*.

§. II. IT has appeared already from the Synod of *Alexandria*, That Forty Days had been in Use for a Penitential Fast before th[illegible]; and that in all likelihood those Days were just before *Easter*. I shall therefore be content to add only two Authorities: The one concerning the Number of those Days, and the other concerning their Place.

And as for the Fast of Penitents, how proper Forty Days are for that Office, I shall give the Authority of St. *Jerome* in his *Commentary* on *Jonas*: excribing the whole Passage, the rather because it will be of further Service hereafter. The old Translation of

of the 3*d*. Chapter of *Jonas* at the 14*th*. Verſe, was thus, *Yet three days and* Nineveh *ſhall be deſtroyed:* upon which he ſays, (*g*) *The Number Three, which is put by the* Septuagint, *is not proper for Penitents. And I can't but wonder how it came to be ſo tranſlated; ſeeing in the Hebrew there is no Agreement either in the Letters, or Syllables, or Accents, or Words. Beſides the Prophet ſent from* Judæa, *on ſo long a journey, was to require a Penitence worthy of his Preaching; that ſuch old and putrid Ulcers might be cured with a Plaiſter, that ſhould lie ſome longer time upon them. Now Forty is a number that is proper for Penitents, and Faſting, and Prayer, and Sackcloth, and Tears, and Perſeverance in deprecating God's Anger. For which reaſon* Moſes *alſo faſted forty days in Mount* Sinai: *and* Elias, *flying from* Jezabel, *and the Wrath of God impending upon* Iſrael, *is deſcrib'd to have faſted forty days. Our Lord likewiſe himſelf, the true* Jonas, *who was ſent to preach* [*Repentance*] *to the World; faſted forty days: and leaving to us the Inheritance of his Faſting, ſtill prepares our Souls for the Eating of his Body by the ſame Number.*

Here we have the Fitness of Forty Days for Penance, in the Judgment of St. *Jerome*, and we suppose of the Church of his time; the onely Remark thence we make as yet.

The Fitness of *Easter-day* for the Readmission of those Penitents into the Bosom of the Church, we shall find from *Gregory Nyssen*; in the Preface of that excellent Letter, which he wrote to *Letoius* Bishop of *Metilene* about Canonical Penances, and sent him probably for an *Easter* Present. It thus begins: (*h*) *This too is one of those things which appertain to the Holy Festival, the consideration of the Rightful and Canonical Dispensation which is to be exercised upon Offenders; that every Spiritual Malady, which has been contracted by any Sin, may have its proper Cure. For seeing this Catholick Festival, the Festival of the Creation, kept throughout the World every Year, in the stated Period of the Annual Circle, is celebrated for the Resurrection of him that fell; and Sin is a Fall, and Rising up from the Fall of Sin is a Resurrection: it must be very proper on this Day, not only to bring to God by the Grace of the Font, such*

as

as are transform'd by Regeneration; but those too, who by Penitence and turning to God are come back from dead Works into the way of Life, to lead these as it were by the hand to that saving Hope, from which they have been estranged by Sin.

The meaning of this Preface is plain, That a Penitential Discourse was as proper a Subject before *Easter*, as a Catechistical. And this he might think fit to premise; because in those times there might seem to be more occasion for the Catechistical; then when by the Grace of God the number of those who needed solemn Penance was very inconsiderable, in respect of the multitude of Adult Converts to Christianity. And for the same reason, I presume, Penance appears more formally in the *Lents* of some Ages hereafter, than it did before; because few grown Persons were then to be baptiz'd, to whom Catechistical Discourses belong'd; and occasion for the other, the Penitential Exhortations, there was then too much: not but that the solemn Preparation of Penitents by *Lent*, might have been as ancient well nigh, as that of the Candidates for

Baptism. The Reason certainly for their Admission at *Easter* was the same: as our Author has suggested, and we have before observ'd.

(*b*) Cyr. Hierosol. Prologus. Ἐγὼ προαγγέλλω, πρὶν ὁ Νυμφίος τῆς ψυχῶν εἰσέλθῃ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἴδῃ τὰ ῥήματα. πολλή σοι ἡ Πεντηκοστία. Τεσσαρᾶκοντα ἡμερῶν, Μετάνοιαν ἔχεις· ἔχεις πολλὴν εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ ἐκδύσασθαι καὶ ἀποπλυνάσθαι, καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι καὶ εἰσελθεῖν.

(*c*) Catech. 1. Καινῆς Διαθήκης μαθηταὶ, καὶ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων κοινωνοὶ, νυνὶ μὲν τῇ κλήσει, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τῇ χάριτι, ——— ———. Καιρὸς ὁμολογήσεως ὁ παρών. ——— Τοσούτους κύκλους Ἐνιαυτῶν διήλθες ἀεὶ τὸν κόσμον μάτην ἀγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τεσσαρᾶκοντα ἡμέρας ἐ ορτάζεις τῇ σεσαρκωμένῃ, διὰ τὴν ζωντὸς ψυχήν;

(*d*) Catech. 4. περὶ Βρωμάτων. Νηστεύομεν οἱ νῦν τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι.

(*e*) *Catech.* 18. In his Discourse on the *Saturday*, he tells them, he spares them, in Consideration of the fatigue they had undergone, from their continuing on the Fast begun on *Friday*, and from their Watching. Τὸν κάματον τὸν σεσωρευμένον ὑμῖν, ἕκατι τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῆς νηστείας τῆς Παρασκευῆς, καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας. And this both Watching and Fasting, is express'd by St. *Hilary* to have been commensurate to the time of our Lord's Passion: and is therefore reckoned to have continued three days. *Hilar. in Can.* 15. *Matth. Venturi ad Baptismum privus confitentur, credere se in Dei Filio, & in Passione & Resurrectione ejus: & huic Professionis Sacramento fides redditur. Atq; ut hanc verborum sponsionem, quædam rerum ipsarum veritas consequatur; toto in Jejuniis Passionis Dominicæ tempore demorantes, quâdam Domino Passionis societate junguntur. Igitur sive ex Sponsionis Sacramento, sive Jejunio, omne illud Passionis Dominicæ cum Domino agunt tempus: & hujus spei atq; comitatûs Dominus misertus, ait.* Secum Triduo esse.

(*f*) Tert.

(*f*) Tert. de Bapt. c. 20. *Ingressuros Baptismum Orationibus crebris, Jejuniis, & Geniculationibus, & Pervigiliis orare oportet, & cum confessione omnium retro Delictorum——— Simul enim & de Pristinis satisfacimus conflictatione Carnis & Spiritus, & subsequuturis Tentationibus munimenta præstruimus.* Vigilate & Orate, *inquit*, ne incidatis in tentationem. *Et ideo, credo, tentati sunt, quoniam obdormierunt, ———. Ipsum Dominum post Lavacrum statim tentationes circumsteterunt, quadraginta diebus jejuniis functum. Ergo & nos dicet aliquis, à Lavacro potius jejunare oportet. Et quis enim prohibet, nisi necessitas Gaudii, & gratulatio Salutis?*

(*g*) Hieron. in Joh. c. 3. *Trinus numerus qui ponitur à Septuaginta, non convenit Pœnitentiæ: & satis miror cur ita translatum sit; cum in Hebreo nec Literarum, nec Syllabarum, nec Accentuum, nec Verbi sit ulla Communitas.——— Alioqui & de Judea tanto itinere missus Propheta in Assyrios, dignam suæ Prædicationis Pœnitentiam flagitabat: ut antiqua & putrida vulnera diu apposito curarentur Emplastro. Porro Quadragenarius numerus convenit Peccatoribus, & Jejunio, & Orationi, & Sacco, & Lachrymis, & Perseverantiæ deprecandi: ob quod & Moyses quadraginta diebus jejunavit in Monte Sina: & Helias fugiens Jezabel, & Dei desuper ira pendente, quadraginta dies jejunasse describitur. Ipse quoq; Dominus verus Jona missus ad Prædicationem Mundi, jejunavit quadraginta dies: & hæreditatem nobis Jejunii relinquens, ad esum Corporis sui sub hoc numero nostras animas præparat.*

(*h*) Greg. Nyss. Ep. Can. ad Letoium. Ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο δῆλον εἰς πλὴν ἀλίαν Ἑορτὴν ζωτελέντων ὅτι, τὸ καταυσῶσαι ἡμᾶς τὴν ἔννομον τε καὶ κανονικὴν ἐπὶ δῆλ πεπλημμεληκότων οἰκονομίαν, ὅπως ἂν δεκαπλάσιον πᾶν ἀῤῥώστημα ψυχικὸν, τὸ διὰ πνεῦ ἁμαρτίας ὀλιγονόμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ καθολικὴ, καὶ αὕτη τὴν κτίσεως ἑορτὴ, καὶ τὴν τεταγμένην θεοδόν τοῦ Ἐνιαυσίου κύκλου καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐν παντὶ πληρουμένη τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀναστάσει τοῦ Παντοκράτος ὁμιτελεῖ, (πῶσις δέ ὅτιν ἡ ἁμαρτία. ἀνάστασις δὴ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος τὴν ἁμαρτίας ἀνόρθωσις) καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἐ μόνον τοῦ ἐκπαλιγγενεσίας μετανοιακιμένους διὰ τὴν λύπην χάεν τοῦ θεῷ προσάγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς διὰ τὴν μετανοίας τε καὶ ὑπηρεσφῆς ἀπὸ δῆλ νεκρῶν ἔργων εἰς πλὴν ζῶσαν ὁδὸν πάλιν ἐπανιόντας, καὶ τούτους χρεωστοῦν πρὸς πλὴν σῶζουσαν ἐλπίδα, ἧς διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίας ἀπεζεναδήκαν.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

§. I. *A Lent always, and every where observed, though not of Forty Days.*
§. II. *Mr.* Daillé's *Objections against it from* Cassian.
§. III. *From St.* Jerome.
§. IV. *From St.* Chrysostome.

§. I. THE Reader may perceive, by the liberty we have taken of this Digression, concerning *Baptism* and *Penance*, that we are now at leisure, and free of all Difficulties concerning the Actual Observation of the Forty Season. And indeed about the Fast of it Mr. *Daillé* henceforth gives us no trouble; but against the Apostolical Right, he is still looking out for Evidence. But in that Point the Reader may have already understood, how little we are concern'd: who do not pretend to prove, That a *Lent* of so many certain Days was observ'd in the latter end of the Apostolical Age; but that some *Lent* there then was generally kept by all, and probably of Forty Days by some in the second Century;

ry; a thing that will not, I presume, appear so strange, when we come to the Second Part of this Discourse. Though therefore I am inclinable to believe, that there was very anciently some regard had to the Number *Forty*; and that this in process of time increased very much, so as to have been the Solemn Number of *Lent* in many Churches by the End of the Third Century: yet I am willing to allow, from what we have seen of St. *Chrysostome*, That this Observation grew so universal from the Recommendation of the *Nicene* Fathers. Those Forty Days too, though regarded and observed, yet I do not say, that they were all of them fasted, and every where equally: but am ready to allow what St. *Chrysostome* intimates (*a*), that in his time at *Antioch*, *some fasted Two, some Three, and some all the Weeks of them*, at their own Discretion; and what *Socrates* will hereafter tell us of the same kind.

(a) Ἀνδρεῖαντων 15.

§. II. That also which *Cassian* a Disciple of St. *Chrysostome*'s says, and is us'd to be produc'd upon this Argument,

ment, as an unanswerable Objection against the Antiquity of *Lent*, I have no need to dissemble. *It is to be known*, says he, (*b*) *that this Observation of forty days*, [*as it is now strictly injoyn'd*,] *had no being as long as the Perfection of the Primitive Church continued. For those who enlarged the Fast throughout the whole Year, were not confined by the necessity of this Ordinance, nor within such narrow bounds of Fasting, as if under a Legal Restraint. But when the Multitude of Believers, daily falling off from that Apostolical Devotion, began to grow worldly------: then it was thought fit by the Bishops of the Universal Church, That Men, immersed in the Cares of the World, and wholly ignorant, if I may so say, of any such thing as Abstinence and Repentance, should be reduced to the Holy Duty by this Canonical Injunction of Fasts; and compelled to it, as it were, by the Imposition of a Legal Tenth* (*c*): *An Injunction advantageous to the weak, and which cannot be prejudicial to the perfect; those, who being under the Grace of the Gospel, by their voluntary Devotion* [*already*] *exceed the prescribed Law.*

I shall

I ſhall not now obſerve, what ſome might venture to ſay; That *Caſſian* ſpeaks all this upon Miſtake, ſuppoſing with *Euſebius* here, what he evidently does in another place (*d*), That the *Ægyptian Eſſenes*, deſcrib'd by *Philo*, were Diſciples of St. *Mark*, and that the Primitive Chriſtians lived all at firſt in that Auſterity. I ſhall only remark, that *Caſſian* ſpeaks here of the *forty days*, and not of a *Lent* in general; and of their being faſted by Injunction, and not at Diſcretion. And therefore thoſe Perfect Men of his, who faſted the whole Year, might however have faſted ſome peculiar time before *Eaſter*, with a more peculiar Devotion; (for that they faſted all the Days cannot be meant by him, much leſs with an equal Abſtinence:) and they might too, ſome of them, have ſo particularly faſted Forty Days, though not by Legal Direction, yet by their own Choice, notwithſtanding any thing ſaid in this place. If too we underſtand the time, when theſe Forty Days were firſt impoſed by common Conſent, to have been that of the *Nicene* Council; this is no more than

than we before had from his Master St. *Chrysostome*. But if he means some elder Times, and he may the very first Age; (For they began to be lukewarm very early, as we learn from some parts of the New Testament); we have then a Testimony from *Cassian* of a much higher Antiquity, for this *Quadragesimal Institution*. However that which he adds, concerning the Imposition of Forty Days, whenever it began, that it was no hinderance to the Perfect; is very observable, and to be consider'd by all Pretenders to Perfection. For the Injunction, he intimates, though not made for the Perfect, would however be kept by them: and they would shew they were under Grace, by Exceeding, and not by Transgressing the Ecclesiastical Law. In as much as he that fasts every day, will not fail to fast forty: and he that is ready to offer his whole Time, will not hold back the Tenth.

§.III. WE see how far *Cassian*'s Expressions are from any Reflexion upon the Institution of *Lent*: and those of St.

St. *Jerome*, alledg'd usually for the same Purpose, apparently require the same Construction; and need only to be seen, if the Reader will bear the length of the Passage. (*e*) *Some may say, if it be not lawful to observe Days and Months*, &c. *we then are under the like Guilt, who observe* Wednesday, *and* Friday, *and the* Lord's Day, *and the* Fast *of the* Forty Season, *and the* Holy Days *of the* Passover, *and the* Joy *of the* Pentecost, *and the several Days that are kept in several Countries in Honour of Martyrs. To this he that will give the plain Answer, will reply; That the Days the* Jews *observe, are not the same with ours. For we do not celebrate the Passover of Unleavened Bread, but of the Resurrection, and the Cross: neither do we in* Pentecost *reckon the Seven Weeks with the* Jews, *but in Veneration of the Coming of the* Holy Ghost. *And least the want of orderly Assembling should be a Cause of Decay of Religion, therefore Days in which we should come together have been appointed: not that the Day in which we meet is of it self more solemn; but that in what day soever it be we meet, there may arise a Festival Joy*

from

from our mutual sight one of another. This is the plain Answer. But he that would endeavour to give a more Acute and Refined one, will say; That all Days are equal, and that Friday *is not the only day of the* Crucifixion, *nor the* Lord's Day *of the* Resurrection: *but that there is always a Resurrection-Day to Him, and that he always feeds on our Lord's Body: but that such Days of Fasting and Assembling have been prescribed by Wise Men, for the sake of those who are employed more about the World than God, and cannot, or rather will not, assemble together every day of their Life.*

The Plain Answer, for ought appears, is not judg'd by St. *Jerome* to be the worst. And the other, the more Subtil one, relishes, we know, of the Refinement and Allegory of *Origen*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, from whom, I suppose, it was taken: and what we before observed, is now to be remembred, That the *Lord's Day* it self is here put in the same Case with the Days of *Lent*, *&c.* and that the reason for their Institution is common, and that they are said alike all of them to have had Prudent Men for their Authors.

thors. Now those prudent Men, if they were the Authors of the *Observation* of the *Lord's Day*, must have been the Apostles themselves, as we presume the Authors of the *Observation* of a *Lent* were at least Apostolical: but if they are to be understood the Authors of the *Injunction* of such an *Observation*; in that sense possibly the Authors for the *Lord's Day*, might have been Apostolical; and those for an *Additional Lent* beyond *Good-Friday* or *Saturday*, yet later. He too that makes this last answer, and seems to slight the Ordinance of Times and Days; does it in Vertue of his great Perfection, such of which *Cassian* now spake: One who is above the Ordinance, because he never wanted it; as a charitable Christian is above the Law against *Stealing*: and does not plead for the Abridgment of the Fast, but for the Extending it throughout the Year; therefore accounting no Single Day Holy, because All are so to him.

§. IV. THESE are the Objections against the devout *Institution* of *Lent*, brought out of St. *Jerome* and

Cassian: others there are from St. *Chrysostome*, but of the like Nature, and not worth the answering. As when he says, in the Passage above produced, That *every Communion is a Passe-over*; he speaks it partly in the sense now mentioned; and besides in opposition to the *Jewish* Superstition of those *Syrians*, who took the *Levitical* Designation of the *Passover* to be still in force. And when he elsewhere prefers the *Abstinence from Vice*, as from *Swearing*, before that *from Meats*; it is plain he speaks not against the Observation of that Abstinence, as a thing not to be practis'd; but as a thing absurd and unprofitable, without a suitable Conversation, a necessary Concomitant, and always to be presum'd.

As therefore we have Mr. *Daillé*'s Confession for the Universal Observation of these *Forty Days* at the latter end of this Age, and that *Lent* hereafter increased rather than diminished: so we hope the equal Reader will confess, That the Prejudices that very Learned Person would have raised against it, from some Authors about that time, are very unjustly grounded. I have there-

therefore now no more to do in this *first Part* of my Task; and am to shut up my Evidence, and conclude here with a brief Recapitulation: But in that I shall be assisted by two Cotemporary Authors about the Middle of the fifth Age, *Sozomen*, and *Socrates*, whom the Reader will be pleased to hear.

(*b*) Cassian. Coll. 21. Cap. 30. *Sciendum sane hanc Observantiam Quadragesimæ, quamdiu Ecclesiæ istius Primitivæ Perfectio permansit, penitus non fuisse. Non enim Præcepti hujus necessitate, nec quasi legali sanctione constricti, arctissimis Jejuniorum terminis claudebantur, qui totum anni spatium æquali jejunio concludebant. Verum cum ab illa Apostolica Devotione descendens quotidie Credentium multitudo suis opibus incubaret; ——— id tunc universis Sacerdotibus placuit; ut homines curis secularibus ligatos, & pene ut ita dixerim continentiæ & compunctionis ignaros, ad opus sanctum Canonici jejuniorum indictione revocarent, & velut Legalium Decimarum* (*c*) *necessitate compellerent: quæ utiq; Infirmis prodesse possit, & Perfectis præjudicare non possit, qui sub gratia Evangelii constituti voluntaria Legem devotione transcendunt.*

(*c*) This Tenth of the Days of the Year is 36, the Number of Fast Days in a *Lent* of 6. Weeks, such as the *Alexandrians* kept as well as the *Latins*. And this Number is the Integral Tenth of the Days of a Solar Year: but exactly so of the *Ægyptian* Year, which reckon'd but 360 days, and accounted the other as super-numerary. For this Notion of Tithing of the Year, looks like a Subtilty of their Calculation.

(*d*) Cass. de Cœnob. Inst. 2. 5. *In primordiis Fidei pauci quidem, sed probatissimi, sicuti a Marco Normam suscepere vivendi, non solum illa magnifica retinebant, quæ primitus Credentium turbas legimus celebrasse; verum his multo sublimiora cumulaverant.* ——— *Ea igitur tempestate, cum Ecclesiæ illius primitivæ*

Perfectio penes ſucceſſores ſuos adhuc recenti memoria inviolata permaneret, fervénſq; Paucorum fides nedum in Multitudinem diffuſa repuiſſet; ———

(e) Hieron. in cap. 3. Ep. ad Galat. *Dicat aliquis, ſi Dies obſervare non licet, & Menſes, & Tempora, & Annos: Nos quoq; ſimile Crimen incurrimus, Quartam ſabbati obſervantes, & Paraſceven, & Diem Dominicam, & jejunium Quadrageſimæ, & Paſchæ Feſtivitatem, & Pentecoſtes Lætitiam, & pro varietate Regionum diverſa in honorem Martyrum tempora conſtituta. Ad quod qui ſimpliciter reſpondebit dicet; non eoſdem Judaicæ obſervationis dies eſſe, quos noſtros. Nos enim non Azymorum Paſchâ celebramus, ſed Reſurrectionis & Crucis: Nec ſeptem juxta morem Iſrael numeramus Hebdomadas in Pentecoſte; ſed Spiritus ſancti veneramur Adventum. Et ne inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Chriſto; propterea dies aliqui conſtituti ſunt, ut in unum omnes pariter veniremus: Non quo celebrior ſit dies illa, qua convenimus; ſed quo, quacunq; die conveniendum ſit, ex conſpectu mutuo lætitia major oriatur. Qui vero oppoſitæ quæſtioni acutius reſpondere conatur, illud affirmat; omnes dies æquales eſſe; nec per Paraſceven tantum Chriſtum crucifigi, & Die Dominica reſurgere, ſed ſemper ſanctam Reſurrectionis eſſe Diem, & ſemper eum Carne veſci Dominica. Jejuniorum autem & Congregationum interea dies, propter eos a Viris Prudentibus conſtitutos, qui magis ſeculo vacant quam Deo; nec poſſunt, immo nolunt, toto in Eccleſia vitæ ſuæ tempore congregari. Quotus enim quiſq; eſt, qui ſaltem hæc pauca quæ ſtatuta ſunt, vel Orandi tempora vel Jejunandi, ſemper exerceat?*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

§. I. Sozomen's *Account of the keeping of Lent in his Time about* Ann. Chr. 440.

§. II. *What Additions have been made since.*

§. III. Socrates *his Account of the Practice of the same Age, I suppose, by the* Novatians.

§. IV. *His Wonder, That* Lents *of differing Lengths should all of them be called the* Forty Season.

§. V. *The Conclusion.*

§. I. THE *Novatians*, who held it unlawful to re-admit any into the Church, who had either renounc'd the Faith in time of Persecution, or had committed some other grievous Crimes; and who had on this account themselves renounc'd the Communion of the Church in St. *Cyprian*'s time, about the middle of the Third Century; were now greatly divided among themselves in this Age, about the Observation of *Easter*: the same Dispute, which the Authority of the *Nicene*

Council had composed among the *Catholicks*, now breaking out among those *Schismaticks*, and making a new and very angry Schism between them. This Quarrel of theirs *Sozomen* relates; and upon occasion of it, he mentions the peaceable Behaviour of *Anicetus* and *Polycarp*, remembred on the same Subject by *Irenæus*: and in Imitation of the same Author, and to shew that it is not fit to break Communion about such Traditional Differences, he represents at large the great Variety of Usages in the Churches of his time professing the same Faith (*a*): That *among the* Scythians, *there is but one Bishop over all their Cities: whereas in* Arabia, &c. *there are Bishops in Villages: That in* Rome, *there are no more than seven Deacons; and they sing Halleluiah there, but once in the Year on* Easter Sunday: *that there either (b) the Bishop preaches, or some one else; but in* Alexandria *the Bishop only*, &c. *And* (he adds) *the Forty Season, as it is called, before* Easter, *in which the People use to fast, some reckon by six Weeks; as those of* Illyricum *do, and all* Europe, *westward; and those of* Africk, *and* Ægypt, *and* Palestine:

leſtine : *ſome by ſeven* ; *as in* Conſtantinople, *and the Countries about it, as far eaſtward as the* Phœnicians. *And ſome faſt three of the ſix or ſeven Weeks diſcontinued: and ſome the three before* Eaſter *together: and ſome two, as the Followers of* Montanus.

That the Followers of *Montanus* kept their *Lent* the Fortnight before *Eaſter*, we find here, and have obſerved in its proper place.

§. II. WHAT the Author ſays concerning the different Reckoning of the *Forty Seaſon* in the *Weſt*, and in the *Eaſt*; is not only obſervable for the Hiſtory of his time, but for the underſtanding of modern Practice. The *Weſtern* Empire, with *Ægypt* and *Paleſtine*, accounted the Forty two Days of ſix Weeks, to be their *Forty Seaſon* ; as the *LXXII Interpreters* are commonly called the *LXX*: but of theſe they faſted only *Thirty ſix*; all the *Sundays* being exempted. The *Eaſtern* Empire (*Paleſtine* and *Ægypt* then excepted) call'd *ſeven Weeks*, that is Forty nine Days, their *Forty Seaſon:* for they were ſtill under the Number *Fifty*.

But then becauſe they did not think it fit to faſt on the *Sabbath*, no more than on the *Sunday*, unleſs only on the *Saturday* of *Paſſion-Week*; they likewiſe deducting their ſeven *Sundays*, and ſix *Saturdays*, faſted effectually no more than thirty ſix Days. Since that time, the *Greek* Church, that they may in ſome ſort be nearer to the Number *Forty*, have added an *Eighth Week* of previous Abſtinence; beginning on thoſe five days to faſt from Fleſh, though they allow themſelves the uſe of *Eggs*, and *Milk*, and *Cheeſe*, and *Butter*, things from which in the ſeven following Weeks they ſtrictly forbear. And they beſides, for an Introduction to this whole Faſt, ſet apart another *ninth Week*, wherein they ſpecially prepare for it, by Confeſſion of their own Sins, and Forgiveneſs of the Sins of others againſt themſelves. This is the additional Practice of the *Greeks*. And the *Latines* likewiſe have enlarg'd their *Lent*: and whereas before they rather adjuſted the *ſpace* of *Time* within which they kept their Faſt, than the *number* of *Days* they did actually faſt, to the Number *Forty*; (*forty two* being nearer to

Forty

Forty, than *thirty six)*; they have ſince thought it better to make up the Number *Forty* preciſely of ſuch *faſting Days*; and have therefore added *Four* to the former, beginning on the *Wedneſday* of the ſeventh Week, as iswell known.

§. III. WHAT we have from *Sozomen* is expreſs, and without Diſpute: what follows from *Socrates* is more confus'd and ambiguous, but may ſerve however to give us ſome light. He, writing at the ſame time with *Sozomen*, and taking the ſame occaſion from the *Novatian* difference, to enter upon the like Diſcourſe, ſays, among other things, (*b* 2) *Thoſe of the ſame Faith differ in their Uſages*------ *The Faſt, for Example, before* Eaſter *is differently obſerved in different places. For thoſe in* Rome *faſt Three continued Weeks before* Eaſter, *except* Saturdays *and* Sundays: *But the* Illyrians, *and* Grecians *of* Europe, *and* Alexandrians *keep a Faſt of Six Weeks before* Eaſter, *calling it the* Forty Seaſon. *And beſides, theſe, there are others, who beginning ſeven Weeks before, and faſting by Intervals only Three Weeks of five Days a-piece, call that*

ſpace

space of Time nevertheless the Forty Season. *And I can't but wonder, how those who differ so in the Number of the Days should agree to give them that common Name, of which Denomination several inquisitive Men have given several Accounts. Neither is there a difference only about the Number of Days, but about the Abstinence of their Diet. Some abstain from all that has Life: some eat of no Animal but Fish; some of Birds too: some abstain from Fruits and Eggs: some take only dry Bread; and some admit not that: but others Eating not till Three in the Afternoon, after that use their Liberty. And infinite are the differences about these things; concerning which we have no written Precept: and thence it is plain, that they are left by the Apostles to every ones own Judgment and Choice; that every one may voluntarily do what is Good, not for Fear, or out of Necessity.*

This Account of *Socrates* has been much question'd in what relates to *Rome*: it being apparent from *Sozomen* and otherwise, That in that time not *Three Weeks*, but *Six* were observed in that City. He himself too afterwards says,

ſays, that they faſted there all *Saturdays* (as they are known to have done in that Age from other hands) excepting that before *Eaſter* only. The Author for this has met with a very hard Cenſure from ſome: others have endeavoured to ſalve the Matter with new Readings: and *Valeſius* ſtands ſo much on his ſide, as to take up the Paradox, and juſtifie every Tittle, he is ſuppoſed to ſay, againſt all Opponents. But, it may be, the fairer way would be, not to underſtand him of the Practice of the Catholicks, of which *Sozomen* and others ſpeak; but of the *Novatians*, of whoſe Affairs all own that he had a particular Knowledge, if he was not inclined to their Sect. From their Diſpute it was, he enter'd upon this Diſcourſe; and from ſome Memorials of theirs, he may have drawn up ſomething of this Account; which otherwiſe might eaſily have been as plain and full as that of *Sozomen*, had it not been wrote in a different View. And ſo, if we ſuppoſe the Regard to Forty Days to have firſt prevail'd univerſally from the Council of *Nice*; we may ſuppoſe, that the *Novatians* having had

had no share in that Council, continued at least at *Rome* in their old Custom, and kept on their *Three Weeks*. If this Conjecture pass for the *Three Weeks*, I should then either think that the *Romans* had not begun to fast on *Saturday*, till after the *Novatians* had left them: Or that a Word, or rather a Numeral Letter (*c*) should be supplied in the Original, and *Thursday* be understood: a Day, as St. *Augustine* tells us (*d*), not commonly fasted in his Time, and possibly not in *Lent* by the *Romans* in the Time of *Novatian*.

§. IV. BUT on this I lay no stress; and shall only take notice of the Remark which *Socrates* makes with some Wonder, That Numbers of Days so different should all have the same Denomination, and be call'd from the Number *Forty*. It is plain, that neither the *Western* nor *Eastern* Church of his Time did measure adequately either the Days they fasted, or the Term of Days within which they fasted, by the Number of *Forty*: but however a regard they had to it, and a *Forty Season* they all pretended to keep. We have

have withal ſeen how that Denomination obtain'd ſo much, that all ſpaces of Faſting, and in all Seaſons of the Year, were call'd by it. For ſo St. *Jerome* term'd the Two Faſts inſtituted by *Montanus* (*e*): though they were but of a Week each of them, and in other times of the Year.

(*e*) Ch. 4. Note (*g*).

What Reaſons were then aſſigned for this Common Name, *Socrates* tells us not, and I wiſh we knew. It ſhould ſeem at firſt ſight, That the Chriſtians aſpired, in a Faſt of ſo great Devotion, to the Imitation of the moſt Solemn Faſts recorded in Scripture, thoſe of *Moſes* and *Elias*, and that particularly of their bleſſed Maſter. And then, when the Church had once fix'd upon that Number of Days for their Example in general; the Faſts of leſſer duration might well go under the ſame Name by an eaſie *Metonymie*. But all this will be yet more natural, if thoſe Faſts ſo recorded, were rather miraculous in the Manner, than ſingular in the Extent of Days; and the Number *Forty* had been always with the *Jews* the proper Number for an extraordinary Humiliation: a Conjecture we are

to

to offer hereafter, in the other Part of this Discourse.

§. V. AND thus have we viewed the Practice of *Lent* through the first 400 Years. We have seen in the last of those Centuries, when *Christianity* came to be more openly professed under the *Christian Emperours*, and abounded in Writers, many express and undeniable Testimonies of the general Observation, though in a different manner, of the *Forty Season*, then commonly so called from Forty Days. In the next Age above it, the *Third*, and as high too as the middle of it, a time that affords us not many Authors, and when there was little occasion to speak of this Matter; we have however a very punctual Account of their strict Manner of keeping the *Passion-Week*, from one of the greatest Men of the Church, who happen'd to be consulted about a Nicety of Ending this *Lent*. And that their great Strictness in the *Holy Week*, equal to any that was used after, may well induce us to imagine, That these Men had not left the Devotion of all the preceding

ceding Weeks to be added by the very next Generation: Especially when we find the *Forty Season* expressly mentioned in *Origen*, a Master of this *Dionysius*, as consecrated to Fasting. For that place of *Origen*, though we have it only from the Version of *Ruffinus*, and he none of the most exact Translatours; yet certainly if he was not the worst that ever was, is much more likely to be truly render'd than wrong: there being no reason to fasten the Falsity on this Word, more than on any other of the Sentence; nor any wonder to find that spoke of now, which not long after was celebrated so much. But to proceed, we have seen further from *Tertullian*, an Author to be reckon'd to the Second Century as well as to the Third, that the Days in which our Lord was taken away, *Good-Friday* and the *Holy Saturday* at least, if not the whole Week, were in the Opinion of the Church of his Time, to be fasted by all from Apostolical Authority; and that no other Days were to be fasted necessarily, and as by Divine Precept, but at Discretion only, and as Christians should think fit in Godly Prudence.

Prudence. Upon the account of which Discretionary Uncertainty, the Argument he was engag'd in made it not proper for him to say any more concerning them, nor to tell us the several Customs of several Churches about that Arbitrary part of *Lent:* though it may otherwise be collected, even from him, that there was then such an Additional Time observed. But to go yet higher, and nearer to the Apostolical Age; about the Year 190, and not 90 from the Death of St. *John*, *Irenæus a* Venerable, and now a very Old Bishop, who had conversed familiarly with the great *Polycarp*, as *Polycarp* had with St. *John* and other Apostles, has happened to let us know, though incidentally only, the various observation of his Time; that some thought they ought to fast *One*, some *Two*, and some *More* Days, and some *Forty:* as we have learn'd too in the general, both from him and the Bishops of almost the whole Church concurrently with him, that some such *Ante-Paschal Fast* had been all along observed in all Places, up to the Time of the Apostles themselves.

(a)

(*a*) Sozom. l. 7. c. 19. ——— ἔτε (*b*) ἢ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος ἔτε ἄλλός τις ἐπ' Ἐκκλησίας ἐνθάδε διδάσκει· ὅθεν ἢ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι μόνος ὁ τῆς πόλεως Ἐπίσκοπος. ——— Καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτης ἢ καλκυθήλιν Τεσσαρακοστῆν, ἐν ᾗ νηστεύει τὸ πᾶν θνος, οἱ μὲν εἰς ἑξ ἑβδομάδας ἡμερῶν λογίζοντες, ὡς Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ οἱ περὶς Δύσιν, Λιβύη τε πᾶσα, καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος καὶ Θηβαῖς Παλαιστινοῖς. Οἱ δὲ ἑπτὰ, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινοπόλει, καὶ τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσι, μέχρι Φοινίκων. Ἄλλοι δὲ τρεῖς προσθήκας ἐν τῇ ἑξ ἡ ἑπτὰ νηστεύουσιν. Οἱ δὲ ἅμα τρεῖς περὶ τῆς Ἑορτῆς Θωμᾶ· οἱ δὲ δύο, ὡς οἱ τὰ Μοντάνου φερόντες.

(*b*) In this place, that our Witness may be the more credible hereafter in our Cause, I have offered at a small Correction of the Text, to reconcile it to the Truth of the Fact. For it has been abundantly proved, and particularly by *Quesnel*, in his Edition of *Leo*, That the Bishop of *Rome* preached there very often in *Sozomen*'s time: who is therefore commonly delivered up here to a Charge of Ignorance and Negligence: whereas a very slight Change of εἴτε for ἔτε, (a thing in which Criticks are not used to be difficult in Favour of any Author;) would have saved his Credit, and rectified the whole Matter.

(*b 2*) Socrat. Hist. Eccles. 5. 22. Εὑρίσκω τὰς περὶ τὸν Πάσχα νηστείας ἄλλως περὶς ἄλλοις φυλαττομένας ὅδεν εὑρεῖν. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τρεῖς περὶ τὸ Πάσχα ἑβδομάδας, πλὴν (*c*) σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς, Θωμηνιθίας νηστεύουσιν. Οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, περὶ ἑβδομάδων ἓξ πλὴν περὶ τὸ Πάσχα νηστείαν νηστεύουσι, Τεσσαρακοστὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζοντες. Ἄλλοι περὶ ἑπτὰ τὴν Ἑορτῆς ἑβδομάδων τῆς νηστείας ἀρχόμενοι, καὶ τρεῖς μόνας πενθημέρους ἐκ διαλειμμάτων νηστεύοντες, οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ αὐτοὶ Τεσσαρακοστὴν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καλοῦσι. Καὶ θαυμάσαι μοι ἔπεισι, πῶς ὅτοι περὶ τὴν ἀειθμὸν τῆς ἡμερῶν διαφωνοῦντες Τεσσαρακοστὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσι καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον λόγον τῆς ὀνομασίας ἐγχειρολογοῦντες ἀποδίδασι.

(*c*) The Guess, I intimate, is that πεμπτης or ἑ should be inserted before σαββάτου, and the Exception run thus, πλὴν ἑ σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς.

(*d*) August. ad Casulan. *Videant ergo Romani quid agant, quia etiam ipsi nimium contumeliose hujus Dispuatione tractantur: apud quos omnibus istis sex diebus, prater paucissimos clericos aut Monachos, quotusquisq; invenitur qui frequentet quotidiana Jejunia, maxime quia ibi jejunandum quinta Sabbati non videtur?* Hoc de omni Septimana dictum, ut è præmissis patet.

PART II.

AN

ESSAY

Concerning the

ORIGINAL

OF

LENT,

Subdivided into

Two Repartitions.

PART II.

AN

ESSAY

Concerning the

ORIGINAL

OF

LENT,

Subdivided into Two Repartitions:

The First *Shewing preparatorily, That most of the Ancient Christian Ordinances were deriv'd from the* Jews.
The Second *Conjecturing, That* Lent *is of the same Original.*

HAving view'd the Ancient Observation of *Lent*, we now proceed to enquire into its Original: and

concerning That, the Conjectures are various. Some ascribe its Rise to Apostolical Constitution; some to casual Practice, imitated and enlarged by others: the one supposing forty Days to be the prescribed Number, and that those who fasted fewer were deficient; others imagining, That one Day only, the Day of the Passion, was first kept by the Grief, rather than Devotion, of some good Christians, and that this afterwards grew to that large number of Days by the Piety, if not Superstition, of following Ages: all agreeing in this, That it was a novel Institution at the earliest, being wholly Christian, and having no Precedent from any former Usage. Now to these Conjectures not seeming to be very satisfactory, I have adventured to add another, drawn from the Custom of the Jews, concerning their Great Fast, and their Penitential Preparation before it: hoping if it appears reasonably well grounded, that it may help to give a clearer light, as well as a better colour, to a Season so much and so long observ'd in the Church of Christ.

And

And here I intended at firſt to have entered immediately upon the View of the Expiation-Day of the *Jews*, and their Preparatory Seaſon, comparing them with our Expiation, the Paſſion-Day, and its previous *Lent*: and the Parallel, if I miſtake not, is ſo exactly correſpondent, as to make one apt to believe at the firſt ſight, that one of thoſe Lines was drawn by the other. But becauſe I am ſenſible that ſome Objections may be raiſed, both againſt the Deſign it ſelf, and the Authorities I am to uſe; I ſhall endeavour firſt to remove them: and poſſibly by the Anſwers I am to give, I may not only ſmooth the way; but make ſuch Advances, as may bring us at the ſame time nearer to the Admittance of what I have propoſed.

There are *Three Prejudices*, I foreſee, which may encounter this Undertaking.

1. The *firſt* may be, That it is not probable the *Primitive Chriſtians* would imitate the *Jews*, or fit they ſhould:

2. The *other*, That the Traditional Writings they have, are not sufficient Authority for the Knowledge of their ancient Customs:

3. And the *last* may be this: That such a Derivation of *Lent* must be false, because it is new.

These *Three Prejudices* have occasioned the Addition of the first Member of this Part, and the Reader, if he pleases, may pass it over. But of Those the Two last will be easily satisfied by the Consideration of the First, and upon that Subject I shall enlarge the more freely, because it may be as delightful and instructive to observe the Original of many other Christian Institutions, as of *Lent*.

PART

PART II.

REPARTIT. I.

That most of the Ancient Christian Ordinances were derived from the Jews.

CHAP I.

§. I. *Not dishonourable for Christian Ordinances to be borrowed from the* Jews: *and they generally were, First such considered as are mentioned in Scripture, as*

§. II. *Baptism. It was a Rite by which, as well as by others, Proselytes were admitted into Judaism.*

§. III. *Christian Baptism, as expressed in the New Testament, an Imitation of it.*

§. I. AMONG the Ancient Hereticks, some, it is known, received our Saviour and his Gospel, but rejected

rejected the Mosaical Law, and blasphemed its God. And there may be many now (though more innocent) who at this distance from the Rise of Christianity, may either have lost the Remembrance of its Original, and forget that the last Covenant has any Dependance on the first: or else in Pride of our greater Priviledges, may scornfully over-look the Dispensation of *Moses* as a beggarly Element; and in the Vanity of a Neighbour-Nation, may think it a Disparagement to the Christian Religion, to be thought of Jewish Extraction. And there may seem to have been more cause given for this Conceit, from some learned Books of late, which have treated concerning the *Jewish* and the *Ægyptian* Antiquities; and which have been misunderstood so far by some to the Prejudice of the old Testament, that those who have not considered the Matter well, may look upon it as very dishonourable to Christianity, to borrow any thing from that Nation, which is suspected to have borrowed so much of all its Neighbours, and to have robb'd even the Religion of the *Ægyptians*.

But

But they need not fear; for Truth can never ſuffer from Truth: and if it ſhall indeed appear, that the Moſaick Religion was conformable to the Worſhip of their *Eaſtern* Neighbours; It may notwithſtanding no leſs maintain its Divine Authority. Knowledge, we know, as well as Empire, began in that part of the World; and there the many Traditions concerning God, deſcended from *Noah* and others of his inſpired Sons, were lodged and preſerved: blended, we may think, and much corrupted with many Falſities and Superſtitions; variouſly too by its various Depoſitaries, the *Chaldeans*, *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabians*, &c. Now all Theſe had ſomething of the ſame Religion, as they had of the ſame Language, but in a different Dialect and Manner: and what if God was pleaſed, by the Miniſtry of *Moſes*, to reform it from the many Additions, impious or immoral, with which it had been ſeverally adulterated, Retaining ſome indifferent Cuſtoms innocently introduced, Inſtituting others in oppoſition to the more dangerous Errours, and directing ſome eminent Parts of the

the whole to a further Prospect of another and more perfect Revelation yet to come; and all these Laws, for the Use of a Peculiar People, to reduce into *one Code*, and authorize by a new Sanction.

Such a Reformed Religion, we may suppose that of the *Jews* to have been; and need not therefore be afraid, if our Religion be said to be a further Reformation of that *Judaism*: a Title Mr. *Selden* frequently gives it, but to be understood, not as if it were a Repurgation of the Old from any Errour, but as it is the Completion and Perfection of it according to the Original Design. And as certainly as our blessed Saviour and his Apostles were of *Hebrew* Lineage, so certain it is, that our Religion is grafted on the *Jewish*. Neither do the Expressions only and Allusions of the Gospel relate to the Customs of the Law, not well otherwise to be understood: but some of its chief Institutions are known to be derived thence. For as before, many of the *Mosaick* Rites were unquestionably design'd to presignifie our Saviour; so some of them were afterwards taken into his Service,

Service, always to minister unto him: not admitted only for the present, out of condescension to the Native or Proselyte *Jews*, of whom then the greatest Number of Converts consisted; but some formally adopted, and others laudably continued, for Perpetuity. This has in part been already copiously demonstrated by many very Learned Writers: and if any thing shall chance to be added by me, I offer it with all submission. And indeed it would not be pertinent to my Business, to pretend in this Matter to any new Discoveries; who am rather now, by such Observations as are well Agreed and Received, to try to favour another Guess, I am by and by to advance.

But besides, to be honest to the Reader, and withal to put him out of any fear; I am here to profess, That I pretend not to the Depths of the *Talmudical* Learning, nor intend to engage him in it: having never dug in the dark Mine my self, but only seen something of that which has been brought above ground by others, and exposed to common Use, either in the Translations

tions of the *Misnah*, or of *Maimonides*, (for of him I have not read much more than is in *Latin*) or in the Works of modern Authors.

The Reader therefore will be pleased to go on and see how much of the Christian Appointments appears to have been copied from the *Jewish*. And here he will presently find it agreed by all, That the *Two Sacraments* were taken thence; That the *Weekly Observation* of the *Lord's Day*, was in Imitation of their *Sabbath*; That the *Discipline* of the *Christian Church* came from the *Jewish*; And that the *Apostles*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, were *Officers* after their Model. But besides these *Principal Ordinances*, which are expressed in the *New Testament*, he will find too, That many *Circumstances*, which in the second Age attended those *Ordinances*, were likewise *Jewish*; as well as many other *Unscriptural Customs*, which are known to have been in use in those Days.

I shall first consider the *Scriptural Usages*: and afterwards those which are remembred in the *next* Age. And the *Scriptural* I take by themselves, both because

because of the Authority for their Practice, and of the Consent for their Derivation: though in the expounding of the *Jewish Customs* for the *first*, I may happen to join what belongs to the *later* sort, to avoid hereafter unnecessary Repetition.

§. II. AND to begin with *Baptism*; This was with the *Jews* a *Sacramental Rite*, whereby those who were converted from *Heathenism*, were initiated into their Religion. A *Rite* little practised among them now: for they have had a long while but very few Converts; and such People, as they tell us (*a*), were always suspected by them, as apt to Apostatize, and draw away others; as it happened, in their Opinion, in the Matter of the *Golden Calf*, and at *Kibroth Hattaavah*. For these Reasons, it may be, the *Jewish Traditionaries* have not been very particular on this Subject; neither hath *Maimonides* treated of it by it self, and expressly, but occasionally only, in a Treatise of *Prohibited Marriages*.

(*a*) *Maim. Issure Biah* c. 13. §. 14, 18. *ex Ed. Dom.* Prideaux *Oxon.* 1679.

There

(b) *Issure Biab*, c. 13. §. 1.

There he tells us (*b*), That the Admission of a Convert was made by these *Three Steps: First*, If he was a Male, by *Circumcision*; Then, By *Baptism*; And, *Last of all*, By *Sacrifice*.

First, He that offered to become a *Jew*, was examined by them concerning the Cause of his *Conversion*, whether it was Religious; and had some Part of the Law especially propos'd to him, that of the *Unity* of *God*, and of the *Crime* of *Idolatry*: and if he professed himself willing to adhere to it, they *circumcised* him (*c*). Then, after some convenient time, they proceeded to *baptize* him. This was to be done in the Presence, and by the Authority, of *Three*, at least, as *Commissioners* for the Action. They stood over him when he was in the Water, and again interrogated him, proposing some of the *harder*, and some of the *easier Precepts* of the Law; and if he persisted in his former Resolution, of taking upon him its *Obedience*, they *baptized* him (*d*). Thus were *Grown* Persons *baptized* upon their own Engagements: and *Children* too were admitted to the same Favour, by the permission

(c) Ibid. 14, 15.

(d) c. 14. §. 6.

permission of the Consistory, their Fathers, or three others instead of a Father, undertaking for them (*e*).

(*e*) c. 13. § 7. *Lightfoot.* vol. 2. p. 118.

And now by Virtue of this his Baptism, he is taken out of the number of the *Gentiles* (*f*), and ceases to have any Kindred upon the account of his natural Birth; so much that, as they say, if his Mother should turn *Jew* also, he may marry her by the Letter of *Moses* his Law, though by the Decretals of the *Canon Law* he was bound to observe the prohibited Degrees on the Mother's side (*g*). So was the Proselyte held to be as an Infant then new born (*h*), and to have become an *Israelite*; to be in a state of *Sanctity* (*i*), and under the *Wings of the Divine Majesty* (*k*).

(*f*) *Ibid.* c. 13. §. 17.

(*g*) Ibid. 14. 12, 13.

(*h*) 14. 11.

(*i*) 14. 14.

(*k*) 13. 4.

So absolutely are they understood to be render'd *Israelites* now by this Baptism only; but heretofore, when their Temple was up, the Proselytes were not reckon'd to be fully Holy, nor to have lodg'd themselves perfectly under the Wings of God's Majesty, until they were further admitted to his Worship by Sacrifice. This *Sacrifice* is said to have been a Burnt-Offering, either

out of the Fold, or else of two Turtles, or two young Pigeons, for an Atonement (*l*). For he was (it seems) in the condition of those *Israelites*, who when they were free from their Uncleanness, and had wash'd, wanted still an Atonement for their complete Purification, that they might be able to partake of the Sacrifices (*m*): Only in this he differ'd, that he wanted no Sin-Offering, as they did, because the Sins of his former State were already entirely remitted by his Baptismal Regeneration. And to this I suppose I may add, under the favour of the instance which follows, and upon which they ground the Proselyting method; that the Proselyte was (like a Leper wash'd, and wanting the Atonement) himself Sprinkled and Purify'd by the Blood of his Offering. And lastly, according to the same Pattern I am just going to mention, there was commonly after the Burnt-Offering (*n*) a Peace-Offering presented; that when he was in the Morning by the one made capable of partaking of the Sacrifices, he might exercise that capacity in the Afternoon, and by the actual partaking of the other,

(*l*) 13. 5.

(*m*) *Maimon. ex Interpr. Lud. deVeil. Lib. de Sacr. Tract.* 5. *c.* 1. §. 1, 2.

(*n*) *Mai. ibid. item Interprete eodem de Cultu Divino Tr.* 5. *c.* 1. §. 6.

other, be render'd in all Points of Privilege a perfect *Israelite*, being admitted up to the Altar, and entirely taken in under the Holy Wings.

The Pattern I now spoke of, upon which they found this Proceeding, is the course that was taken with the Children of *Israel* before Mount *Sinai*, upon their Receiving of the Law (*o*). They are suppos'd to have been all already Circumcis'd, the House of *Levi* all along in *Egypt*, and the Rest before the First Passover; and now being come to the *Mount*, they were Interrogated by *Moses* concerning their Obedience to the Covenant offer'd them (*p*), to which when they had agreed, they were then directed to *Sanctifie themselves, and to wash their Clothes* (*q*), [their whole Bodies]; upon which the Decalogue, and some other Precepts were deliver'd them. And then after another Stipulation made by the People, both Burnt-Offerings and Peace-Offerings were Sacrific'd (*r*), with the Blood of which themselves, and the Book of the Covenant were sprinkled. And lastly, afterwards the Elders, in their Name,

(*o*) *Mai. Issur. Biah.* 13. 2, 3.

(*p*) c. 19. Exod. 5.

(*q*) v. 8.

(*r*) Exod. 24. 3.

were admitted to come nearer to the sight of God; and when they returned, they eat of the Peace-Offerings (*f*) given them, as it were, from the Table of God.

(*f*) *Aben Ezra in locum.*

§. III. THIS was the manner of Initiation into the *Jews* Religion. And when our Blessed Saviour was pleas'd to Ordain a New Covenant, though he set aside Circumcision, as belonging to one Sex, and not agreeable to his general Design, with whom there was to be *neither Male nor Female*, no more than *Jew or Greek*: Yet he retained Baptism for the same use, and commanded the Apostles to admit the Converts to his Religion by that Ceremony, *Go teach*, says he, [or make Disciples of] *all Nations, baptizing them* (*t*). And accordingly the Baptiz'd Christian was esteem'd thenceforth to be *born again by* that *Water* (*u*), (for so *Nicodemus*, who was *a Master in Israel*, ought to have understood our Master;) and Baptism is also stil'd the *Washing of Regeneration* (*x*). And with such a regard St. *Paul* might say, (*y*) *thenceforth he knew no man after the flesh*, whatever

(*t*) Matth. 28. 19.

(*u*) Joh. 3.

(*x*) 1 Pet. 1. 23.

(*y*) 2 Cor. 5. 16.

ever Kindred he might have had with him as a Hebrew of the Hebrews; no, not if he had so *known Christ* himself, as some might then pretend to do. *For he that is in Christ is a new Creature, and old things are past away.* And as the *new Man,* and *new born Babes* are spoke, in the Phrase of the *Jews,* of the Baptiz'd; so in respect to the Interrogatory, us'd in that Office, after their Example, the *Answer of a good Conscience towards God* is mention'd, we find, together with the *washing by Water,* or *the putting away of the filth of the flesh* (z). And lastly, the *Christian* Proselytes, by being baptiz'd, were likewise render'd capable of *receiving the Holy Ghost*; or, as the *Jews* would speak, of being over-shadowed by the Wings of the Divine Majesty; and from that also they were in a State of *Holiness,* and to be call'd the *Saints of God.*

(z) 1 Pet. 3. 23.

So plainly does what the Scripture speaks concerning the Sacrament of Baptism discover to us, that our Saviour was pleas'd to take it up from the *Jewish* Church, to use it to the like purpose, and to assign to it the same effect,

not varying so much as the Phrase. This Accommodation in the general is manifest I say from the Scripture, where Baptism is simply mention'd, and without such Circumstances as might have attended it, though not express'd. But in the next Age we shall find it accompanied with such Rituals, as may answer those other particulars of that *Jewish* Sacrament, which we have set down above, and are to remember in their proper place *(a)*.

(a) Ch. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *The Nature of the Paſchal Sacrifice, and the Deſcription the Jewiſh Traditions give of that Supper;*
§. II. *Agreeable to the Hiſtory in the Goſpels of our Lord's Supper, and to the Nature of it.*

I Come next to the other *Sacrament* of our *Lord's Supper*, which He was pleas'd to inſtitute at a *Paſchal Supper*; and to borrow thence its Proviſion, the Bread and Wine.

§. I. THE *Paſchal Lamb* was a Sacrifice of a peculiar compounded Nature (*a*). As it was to be *roaſted with Fire*, it had ſomething of a Burnt-Offering, and might ſeem to be expiatory; as it was then, when the Blood of it was ſprinkled upon their Doors at the firſt Inſtitution. By the ſame Blood it was federal alſo, the Children of *Iſrael* entering by it into a *New Covenant*. And as it was to be *eaten all that night*, or *burnt with fire*, and *none left to the morning*; ſo it ſeem'd to be as an *Offering for Thankſgiving* (*b*). Now anſwerable

(*a*) Exod. 12.

(*b*) Lev. 7. 15.

ſwerable to the kind of the Sacrifice, was the Supper for which it was prepar'd. It was a Feſtival Entertainment for Joy of the great Deliverance: but it was to be eat with *unleavened Bread, and with bitter Herbs* (*c*), as Memorials of their former Afflictions. And the manner of this Supper was thus, as *Maimonides* pretends to tell (*d*).

(*c*) 8.

(*d*) *Tract. de Solemnitat. Paſch. eodem de Veil interprete*, Cap. 8.

In the firſt place, They mingled a Cup of Wine to every one of the Company; and the Maſter of the Family praiſing God the Creatour of the Fruit of the Vine; [in the ordinary Form which they uſe at other Meals]; He and they all drank: beginning ſo, and conſecrating the Paſchal Action, which they were going now to celebrate. [For ſo too they us'd to conſecrate, and ſeparate other ſacred Actions from the common Actions of Life: the Solemnity of the Sabbath, for Example; beginning it with a Cup of Wine, at the Supper of the firſt Evening, and concluding it with another, at the cloſe of the next Day.] And now, after they had waſh'd, with a *Common Prayer* us'd at other Waſhings, the

the Table was set, furnish'd with bitter and sweet Herbs, unleavened Bread, a Sauce red like Brick, and the *Body of the Lamb*, [for that is their manner of Expression,] together with the Flesh of the solemn Peace-Offering, [which was to be offer'd on some day of the Feast *(e)*, and was commonly sacrific'd on this Day in the Morning *(f)*, to help out the Supper.] When the Table was so set, the Master, blessing God, for having created the Fruits of the Earth, [in the ordinary Form, and as at other times they use to do;] took of the bitter Herbs about the Quantity of an Olive, and dipping them in the red Sauce eat of them, and distributed as much to each of the rest. After this, the Table was to be remov'd a little way from him, to give Occasion and Space for the Questions suppos'd in *Exodus*, *(g)* about the Particularities of this Supper. And in Answer to them, the Master tells the Story of the Miseries of their Fore-fathers; using also the Words in *Deuteronomy*, *(h)* *A Syrian ready to perish was my Father*, &c. Upon this the Table was brought again; and He taking the Paschal Lamb

(e) Deut. 16. 2.

(f) *Maim. de Sacr. Pasch.* cap. 10. §. 12, 13.

(g) Exod. 12. 26.

(h) Deut. 26. 5.

Lamb in his hands, and Elevating it, propos'd to himself the Question, Why it was offer'd, and gave the Reason. And so he elevated severally both the bitter Herbs, and the unleavened Bread; and after all the several Reasons given, he subjoin'd a Hymn, *Let us therefore celebrate, praise, extol-----him, who has done so many and so great, and such stupendous Wonders------ To Him let us sing Hallelujah, Praise the LORD, ye Servants of the LORD------*: concluding so, *Thanks be to thee, O GOD, King of the World, who didst redeem us and our Ancestors, and hast brought us to this Night.*

Here they all drank again, in the same manner as at first, and wash'd again likewise; [here again beginning their Supper.] For then he took two unleavened Cakes, and dividing one, he put one half of it over the other Cake; [the half Cake being, as they say, to remember them of their former Poverty]: and so said over the Bread a Blessing. After he dipp'd a piece of the Cake, with some of the bitter Herbs, in the Sauce, and eat; having blessed God with a proper Prayer; [and distributing

ſtributing to the reſt to eat likewiſe.] So with a proper Prayer they taſted of the Peace-Offering; and with another, of the Lamb: and after they fed freely of what was before them. Only each was bound at the cloſe of the Supper, to end with ſome of the Lamb; eating the Quantity of an Olive at leaſt: [as they now do with a piece of one of the half Cakes, which they ſubſtitute in place of the Lamb.]

When they had done eating, they waſh'd their hands: and each having a third Cup diſtributed to them, the Maſter having ſaid over it the Grace after Meat, [and it is term'd thence the *Cup of Bleſſing*,] they drank it off. And then there was another, the fourth Cup, put into their hands; and the Hymn being re-continued, with its proper Concluſion, they again thanking God for the Fruit of the Vine, drank that alſo; and after that no more that night: [it being now towards midnight, and they being after this to meditate yet on their Paſchal Deliverance].

Thus, according to the Tradition of the Jews, the Paſchal Supper was celebrated,

brated, while the Temple stood: and ever since it has been kept much after the same manner, though the Paschal Lamb has been wanting. And possibly, (if I might be allow'd to interpose a Guess in this matter,) this Supper might have been observ'd, as now it is, without the Sacrifice, even when the Temple was in being; by such as after the first Dispersions by the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, continued afterwards in remote Parts; and not being able to keep the Feast at *Jerusalem*, by reason of their Distance, were however willing to keep up the solemn Memorial of that great Deliverance, in the best manner they cou'd, and as it is now done.

§. II. NOW to this Account the History of our Saviour's Paschal Supper agrees. The *Cup* mention'd by St. *Luke* (*i*), *which he took* before the *Bread, and, giving thanks, divided it amongst his Disciples*; seems to have been their first Cup; and might be however their second. And the *Bread* which *after he had given thanks, he brake, and gave to them*; was the same they

(*i*) Luk. 22. 17, 19, 20.

they now so bless, and distribute after the second Cup. And lastly, the *Cup after Supper*, the *Cup of Blessing*, as it is call'd by St. *Paul* in express Terms (*k*), what should it be, but what the Jews call by that name, and with which they thank for the Meal, the third Cup? Neither because our Saviour says in St. *Matthew* (*l*) after the Cup, that *he would not henceforth drink any more of the fruit of the vine*; will it therefore follow, that he did not drink the fourth Cup. For the same Saying is put in St. *Luke*, (*m*) before the first Cup; and can there signifie no otherwise than in general, and that after that Solemnity was wholly over, he would not drink of it: except we will suppose, that what he gave to the Disciples, he took not himself. But however this may be, the Gospel hath yet one farther Particular, agreeable to the Description of the Jews: That when they had supp'd, *they sung a Hymn*, and *went out to the Mount of Olives* (*n*) [to meditate]. And it has besides been observ'd, that our Saviour, when he spoke the *Bread* to be *his Body*, might have had a peculiar respect to that Phrase of the *Body of the*

(*k*) 1 Cor. 10. 16.

(*l*) 26. 29.

(*m*) Luke 22. 18.

(*n*) Matth. 26. 30.

the Lamb: and could it be admitted that in those days, as now, an unleaven'd Cake was by any substituted for the *Body of the Lamb*; It might then have been the easier understood, to represent our *Lord's Body*. These are the particular Correspondencies, between the Paschal and the Lord's Supper: and there was too another general one in their Nature; as they were both of them to be Memorials of a former bloody Atonement; Feasts of present Joy and Thanks, but not without some afflictive Remembrance for the Past.

Here therefore it appears, and from the Relation of the Scripture, that our Lord thought fit to raise his other Sacrament likewise out of a Festival Commemoration, the Jews were commanded to keep for their old Deliverance. And hereafter it will appear further, by the Construction the Primitive Church made, that our Saviour in the Institution of his Feast, did not consider only that single Annual Solemnity of theirs, but their other more frequent Sacrificial Entertainments of Praise and Thanksgiving (o).

(o) *See* C. 7. *of this Repartit.*

CHAP.

CHAP IV.

§. I. *The Church of Christ succeeds to the Church of the* Jews.

§. II. *The Officers of the One, rais'd from the Officers of the Other. The Apostles of each.*

§. III. *And the Bishops.*

§. IV. *The Presbyters or Elders of the* Jews.

§. V. *The* Christian *Presbyters, and their Power.*

§. VI. *The Ministerial Officers of the* Jews;

§. VII. *Answered by our Deacons.*

THE Two Sacraments, we see, as they are described in the Scripture, appear to have been transferr'd from the Old Testament to the New; and by the one of them we are Admitted into the Christian Covenant, and by the other we Recognize it. Now those who were admitted into the *Mosaical Covenant*, were admitted into a Body or Society; and this Body had its Governours and Officers: and whether the *Christian Church* were not

a

a like Body, and with like Officers, we shall next inquire, and from Scriptural Authority.

§. I. And first, It is plain that the Church of Christ comes into the place of the Congregation of *Israel*. For it is known that the Word in the New Testament, which we Translate *Church*, is the same with that which stands in the *Greek* of the Old for the *Congregation* or *Body* of that People: and as they had *Moses* for their Leader and Law-giver under God, their King, and also Chief Priest, (for he consecrated *Aaron* and his Sons;) so are we a Society or Body united in One Head, our Lord Jesus, who under the Father is our King, and High Priest. And accordingly we succeed to the Stile and Title of the Children of *Israel* (*a*), and their Dignity and Privileges are devolved upon us. For so are we become a *peculiar People*, which Christ has *purified to himself* (*b*). We are made *by him Kings, and Priests unto God the Father* (*c*). *We are a chosen Generation, a Royal Priesthood, a Holy Nation* (*d*).

(*a*) Exod. 19. 5, 6. Deut. 7. 6.

(*b*) Tit. 2. 14.

(*c*) Rev. 1. 6.

(*d*) 1 Pet. 2. 9.

§. II.

§. II. THIS his People, Our Prince and High-Priest himself still Governs; but by such subordinate Officers below, as are denominated from the Jews; and also with the same Discipline; as far as was consistent with his Empire, which was to be neither Local nor Temporal, not dependent upon any one place, nor regarding Worldly Interests.

The Officers of the *Christian Church*, mentioned in the Scripture, are *Apostles*, *Bishops*, *Elders* and *Deacons*: and what signification such Titles did bear in the Church of *Israel*, we are now to see. Only I am to premise, That as we shall find all those Titles in several significations; so we are to observe the same of the Words *Church* and *Synagogus*, to whom those Titles belong. For each of these, as is well known, signifies either the People united under the same Covenant, a *Society*; or a *Local Assembly* of those of that Society; or the *Place* where they are to Assemble.

The highest Office of the New Testament is that of the *Apostles*: and it is a term of large signification, both

in *Greek*, and *Hebrew* or *Chaldee*. It is in both Languages the same as *Sent*, (*a*) and so may stand for a common Messenger, Deputy, or Mandatary, or for an Envoy from some great Person, for an Embassador Ordinary, or Extraordinary, or any Plenipotentiary-Commissioner. With the Jews therefore the Minister of the Synagogue, who takes care of the Business of it under the Superiour Governours, and reads the Prayers, and who is call'd now more commonly *Chazan* (*b*); is also known by this Name, as being the Deputy of the Congregation. It is said too (*c*) that he goes by that Name with them, who was sent by the Priests to collect their Dues, the First-Fruits and Tenths; and so they are term'd in the Imperial Law. Neither do I find that the *Talmud* speaks of any higher Authority under that Style; nor I suppose will the Rabbins themselves pretend, that they have a compleat Information of all their former Government. But however, it is certain from *Epiphanius*, that it was the Name of such Plenipotentiary-Commissioners, as were sent by the chief of the

(*b*) See §. VI.

the Jews, the High-Priest, or Patriarch, not only to gather Money, but to visit and reform a Province, and to confirm and displace its Officers: For so he says (*d*) of one *Josephus*, who was *sent* with that Power, *from their Patriarch, then residing in* Palestine *into* Cilicia; *that he brought back to him the Tenths, and First Fruits of the Province; and besides had displac'd there many of their Rulers of the Synagogues, and of their Priests, and of their Elders, and of their* Azanites, *which are their Deacons or Ministers.* And before (*d* 2) Apostles are describ'd to be *Men of great Authority, who are Assessors to the Patriarch.*

Answerable in some manner, to this different acception of the Word with the *Jews*, is the Use of it in the Christian Church. For it is observ'd that *Epaphroditus* is call'd by St. *Paul* (*e*) an Apostle of the *Philippians*, in an inferior Sence; for the Office he discharg'd, of conveying their Contribution to him, their great Apostle, and as it were Patriarch. And such it is justly suppos'd those *Brethren* were, who are spoke of to the *Corinthians*, (in a Discourse concerning Contribu-

(e) Phil. 2. 25.

(f) 2 Cor. 8. 23. tions) and are term'd (f) the *Apostles of the Churches, the Glory of Christ.* But this Name imported a higher Dignity, and greater Power, when it was attributed to the Twelve, or to St. *Paul.* They were as *Assessors* to Christ, our Priest, and our King: hereafter in the places of the Princes of the Tribes, to *sit on Twelve Thrones, and judge the* (g) Matt. 19. 28. *Twelve Tribes of Israel* (g); and in the mean time, *endued with Power from above*, to Act and Speak in his Name, and to Govern his Church, appointing Officers and prescribing Orders. Of this sort was Saint *Paul*; and such an (h) 1 Cor. 15. 9. *Apostle* he professes himself (h), *not worthy to be call'd.* And further, as They all were in this manner Apostles (i) Heb. 3. 1. of Christ, so is *Christ* himself said (i) to be *our Apostle*, (as well as *High-* (k) John 20. 21. *Priest*), being (k) SENT *by the Father, as they were sent by Him.*

§. III. NEXT to the Apostles are Bishops: And this too is a Word that signifies at large, both in the Hebrew and Greek (a) of the *Old Testament* In the Greek of the Septuagint, it is said of the Officers of an Army, both Captains over hundreds, and Captains over

over thousands *(a 2)*; of the Provost or Alderman of a Ward *(b)* of Overseers of Works and Payments *(c)*. And so the Office is an *Oversight* or Charge; as *Eleazar* had *the Oversight* and Charge *of all the Tabernacle (d)*; and *his Office or Charge let another take (e)*. The word answering to this in the *Hebrew*, denotes a Steward over a Household *(f)*, a Superintendant over a City *(g)*; and in the Temple it stands for the Head and Director of any Office. And the Overseer or *Officer of the High-Priest (h)*, is said, by *Rabbi Salomon* on the place, to be the *High-Priest's Vicegerent, usually call'd the Sagan (i)*; as also, *the chief Governour in the House of the Lord (k)* is understood to be by *Jonathan* the Targumist, *(l)* whom *Kimchi (m)* therefore stiles *the High Overseer* under the High-Priest. Thus is this Word found to signifie in the Old Testament: but the Talmudists, as far as I can see, take no notice of its Office, and leave us to be informed of this, as well as of the Apostleship, from other hands.

(a 2) Nu. 31. 14. 2 Kings 11. 15.
(b) Neh. 11. 9.
(c) 2 Chr. 34.
(d) Num. 4. 16.
(e) Psal. 109. 8.
(f) Gen. 39. 5.
(g) 41. 34.
(h) 2 Chr. 24. 11.
(i) Jer. 20. 1.

The same Word in the Greek of the *New Testament* is taken in some La-

titude too. First of all, our blessed Lord himself, is call'd *the Bishop and Shepherd of our Souls (m)*, as having the chief Oversight and Care of the Flock. In a lower degree, the *Office* of *Bishoprick*, mention'd in the 109*th. Psalm*, is apply'd to the *Apostleship*, which *Judas* lost and *Matthias* took *(n)*. And yet lower; Those also who are called *Presbyters*, are at the same time named *Bishops*; as those Presbyters or Elders, which S. *Paul* sent for from *Ephesus*, were admonished to *take care of the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops (o)*. And the *Presbyter*, of whose Ordination St. *Paul* speaks to *Titus*, is in the next Verse save one, stil'd *Bishop (p)*.

(m) 1 Pet. 2, 25.

(n) Acts 1. 20.

(o) Acts 20. 28.

(p) Tit. 1, 5, 7.

We see therefore that the New Testament has not only taken the Name from the Old, but the largeness of its signification too; which is all at present I am concern'd to observe: Tho' I presume this Word, as well as *Apostle*, had now a peculiar Office, of which it was properly spoke, and to which, in the next Age it is known to have been always determin'd *(q)*.

(q) See Ch. VIII.

§. IV.

§. IV. THE next that follows, (for so I take leave to place in the Christian Church, what some would set in equal rank,) is the *Presbyter* or *Elder*. This Word in the Greek of the Septuagint, is known (answerably to the Hebrew) to signifie not only a Man of Years, but Authority; as Words of the like import have always done in Ancient and Modern Languages (*a*). So the Steward of *Abraham*'s House, (stil'd by our Translators *the eldest Servant of his House*,) *who rul'd over all that he had* (*b*), is suppos'd to be call'd by those Interpreters, *the Presbyter*, or *Elder of his House* (*c*). In that Sense we have the *Elders of Pharaoh's House, and of the Land of Ægypt* (*d*). And when it is said, *Hezekiah took Counsel with his Princes and his mighty Men* (*e*), in the Septuagint it is *with his Presbyters* and mighty Men. And in like manner by the *Presbyters* or *Elders* of the People of *Israel*, *Princes* and *great ones* of them are understood at large (*f*), of which the greatest and chief were the Twelve Heads or Princes of the Tribes.

(*b*) Gen. 24. 2.

(*d*) Gen. 50. 7.

(*e*) 2 Chr. 32. 3.

(*f*) Num. 11. 16.

Of such *Elders* or Governours there were Seventy, we know appointed by *Moses*, at the command of God (*g*), to *bear* part of the *burden* of the Magistracy with him, and to be a Council unto him, endow'd therefore with a Communication of the *Spirit*. Of this great standing Council, known afterwards by the Name of the *Sanhedrim*, the Jewish Tradition speaks very copiously; and though the Scripture says nothing of any Superiority amongst those Seventy, yet they tell us expressly, what otherwise we must have presum'd, That one of them was *President* of this Council, and *Vicegerent* to *Moses* the *Prince*. Such a *Council* as this, they say, sat at *Jerusalem* in after Ages, and govern'd the whole People; consisting of a *Chief* and *Prince*, (for that is the signification of *Nasi*) in the place of *Moses*, and of Seventy more, one of whom was the Vicegerent of that Chief or Prince, call'd by them, the *Father of the Council*.

(*g*) Num. 11.16,17.

Besides this Sovereign Court sitting in the Temple, there were also Inferiour Provincial Consistories, according to the appointment of God in these words,

words, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in all the Gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee (h)*. And whereas the number of these Judges or Elders is here left undetermin'd, *Josephus*, repeating the same Injunction, directs them to be *Seven* (*i*); supposing, I presume, that they were so many in the times near to *Moses*. But the Traditionary Jews, will have them in every great City to have been *twenty three*; they too, as I also presume, speaking from the practice of some later times. Of these *twenty three*, they tell us, One was stil'd also the *Nasi*, or *Prince*, (the Chief of that Tribe or Place); and another likewise was his *Vicegerent*, call'd also the *Father* of that Consistory. And the like distinction we may suppose to have been between *Josephus* his *Seven*; and that *Two* of them, were a Chief, and a Deputy, and the other *Five* ordinary Elders.

(*h*) Deut. 16. 18.

(*i*) Archæol. 4. 8.

These were the Consistories of great Cities; but in lesser Districts there was, as the Rabbins tell us, a Magistracy or *Presbytery* of *Three*, which Judg'd in lesser Matters. And further, it seems (*k*), there are those who sometimes

times go by the Name of *Elders*; but whose chief business is to take care of the Goods of the Commnnity, and whose Authority extends only to causes of voluntary Jurisdiction: and these are call'd the *Seven good Men of the place*; retaining the number, though not the Power, of *Josephus* his Magistrates.

The *Talmudists*, who have been silent concerning Apostles and Bishops, are very particular, as we may perceive concerning Presbyters, and pretend to give us a punctual account of their Creation and Office, as we may see at large in Mr. *Selden* (*l*). And an Abstract of what is further necessary here follows, out of that very Learned Gentleman's copious Collections on this Subject.

(*l*) *De Syn. l. 2. c. 4, 5, 6.*

These *Presbyters* then were of two sorts, the One had a Full, and the other a Limited Authority (*m*).

(*m*) *Seld. de Syn. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

An *Elder* of the *first kind* was capable of being call'd up to the Courts of great Cities and Provinces, having Authority not only to expound the Law, and to resolve Cases of Consciences, but to Judge in all Causes both Cri-

Criminal and Civil: And these were call'd *Rabbi.*

The other, the *Limited Elders*, were either such as had Power to be of one of the inferiour Consistories of Three in lesser Districts, and to Judge only of Pecuniary Causes; or such who were not capable of Jurisdiction, and could only expound the Law; or else who were not qualified to direct in the whole Law, but were confin'd to particular Cases.

To this Office of Eldership they were ordain'd by Imposition of Hands, with Words signifying the Authority committed; or else by Letter-Patent, or Missive. And every Presbyter of the first sort was, they say, permitted to Ordain at first; but afterwards it was not to be done but by Three, and not without the leave of the Prince or Chief, or by the Chief and his Vicegerent together.

Now there are *three things* concerning these Presbyters which Mr. *Selden* particularly remarks; and which we will not therefore forget, but remember as occasion shall offer. The *first* is, That no Presbyter with full Power, could

could be Ordain'd by any out of the *Holy Land*; for from that place only Authority in Criminal Causes could proceed, and thence only a Faculty could be given, that would be good thorough the whole World. Whereas those whom the Head of the Captivity himself ordain'd out of that Country, had Jurisdiction in none but Pecuniary Causes, and were call'd only *Mar* or *Rab*; and those who were ordain'd by others, had Jurisdiction only in the District where they were ordained(*n*).

(*n*) *Seld. ibid. cap.* 7. §. 5.

Accordingly, as *Buxtorf* observes, (*n*2) The *Jews* of *Spain* and the *Levant* do not honour themselves with the stile of *Mar* or *Rab*, being content to be call'd the Disciples of the Learn'd: though in *Germany* they make bold with those Titles, and promote with the old Formality; where too they have an order of *Rabbins* above the ordinary *Rabbins*, who preside over them, and are as the *Princes* or *Fathers* of the Consistory heretofore.

(*n*2) *Buxt. Syn. I.* 46.

Secondly, As the *Talmudists* tell us, there Presbyters were indifferently of any Tribe; neither was it necessary that

that they ſhould be of the Tribe of *Levi*, who compos'd the great Conſiſtory of *Jeruſalem* (*o*); though that Conſiſtory, in their opinion, govern'd even in the Temple, and over all that officiated there (*p*).

(*o*) *Seld. Ibid. cap.* 7. §. 5.

(*p*) *Ibid. cap.* 8. *cap.* 15. §. 12, &c.

And the Truth is, according to the Modern Traditions, thoſe of the Tribe of *Levi* were not ſo abſolute in the Temple, nor of that conſideration out of the Temple, as they ſeem to have been by the Scripture, and by *Joſephus*. And now at this time, though the Prieſts receive ſometimes ſome little due for the Redemption of the Firſt-Born, and are call'd before others to Read the Law, and are preferr'd to give the Solemn Bleſſing in the Synagogues, and to ſay Grace at Meals; yet for the reſt they are as common *Iſraelites*, and under the Juriſdiction of the *Rabbins*. For theſe *Rabbins* have order'd the Matter ſo, that they are reputed, to Repreſent the Prieſts, and to ſucceed into their Sacerdotal Right, claiming therefore to be free from Taxes, and from Watch and Ward, to have the Prevendition or Pre-emption in the Market, and to have their

Cauſes

Causes first dispatch'd in Courts of Justices (q). And this possibly came to pass, not only from the superseding of the main part of the Priestly Function, by the Destruction of the Temple, and from the ceasing of their Tithes and other Dues, by the banishment of the People from their own Country; but also from the great destruction that must have been suffer'd by the Tribe of *Levi*, in those cruel Devastations made by *Titus* and *Adrian* of the *Holy Land* and *City*, in which places the *Levites* had their Residence and Imployment, and which they would be sure to defend most zealously: Whereas many other *Jews* liv'd at the same time dispers'd in remote Provinces, escaping the War and its fury. For then, when very few Priests remain'd, and those of all *Jews* durst least own themselves; and when they were debarr'd from the Execution of that Office, by which they had been so honourably distinguish'd; no wonder if the other Tribes took the advantage, and, as it happens amongst Rival Offices, encroach'd and usurp'd upon them: And if any of the Rest were to deliver down the Law, which

(q) *Leo de Mod. Cere. des Juifs.* S. 12. 3. *Buxt. Syn.* J. 46. *Maim. Tal. Tor. cap. 6.* §. 10.

which the Priest's Lips had been us'd to preserve, as *Rabbi Juda* took upon him the Office; He, as Holy as he was, might comply so far with Modern Usurpation, as to record it with the Traditions from *Mount Sina*.

And *lastly*, We are all along bid to observe, that these Presbyters and Rulers were Civil Magistrates, who had the Government of the Common-Wealth, and by that Title controul'd the High-Priests themselves (*r*): an observation we need not dissemble, if we are at the same time allow'd to remember, that God Himself was the Supreme Governour of that Common-Wealth; that even its Civil Laws were enacted by Him; and therefore that the Judges of that Law were Sacred Officers, and of a Policy that was Divine.

(*r*) *Ibid. l.* 3. *c.* 3. 11.

Hitherto these Elders have been chiefly consider'd as Administrators of their *Civil Policy*; they had too the direct Administration of all their Worship, that was *not Sacrificial*, directing its Services, and appointing its Officers. Whereas therefore in a great City, the *Nasi*, or his Vicegerent, and even the

Pres-

Presbyters in a larger Sense, were the [*Archisynagogi*] Rulers or Heads of the Synagogue, as it meant the Body or Community of the City: So they were also Rulers of the Synagogue, or Synagogues of that City, as they were Congregations for Worship. And where there were many Synagogues, (as there were in those Cities,) the same were Rulers over all of them; though by their appointment, and in their Name to particular Synagogues, particular Presbyters, and sometimes possibly of Limited Power, might be especially deputed to take care of them.

§. V. SUCH were the Elders of Jewish Common-wealth and Church: and correspondent in some manner to these, are the *Christian Presbyters* in the *New Testament*.

And first, those properly call'd *Apostles* are stil'd *Elders*; as representing the Twelve Princes of the Tribes, who were the first and great Elders of *Israel*. So St. *Peter* stiles himself a *Fellow-Elder* (*a*); and so the Appellation of *Elders* seems in one place of the *Acts* (*b*), to comprehend the Apostles also.

(*a*) 1 Pet. 5. 1.
(*b*) Acts 11. 30.

Next

Next there are *Elders* distinct from the Apostles, those mention'd often in the Acts just after them, *The Apostles and Elders (c)*. And these, because there is no mention made before of their Creation, as there is of the Deacons; may be presum'd to be the Seventy, whom our Saviour had ordain'd; according to the Number of the Consistory erected by *Moses*, and then continued at *Jerusalem*.

c Acts 15. 2, 4, 6.

And if these were Seventy Elders; then St. *James* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, may be suppos'd to have been the *President* of them; and if not the *Prince* (for that honour they might leave to our Saviour, always reputed as present with them) yet the *Vicegerent* of the Prince, and *Father of the Council* of the Seventy; to which the other Apostles had join'd themselves, in the manner of Assistants Extraordinary, and as the High Priests and Princes of the Tribes had, I suppose, us'd to have an extraordinary Place in the Consistory of their Sanhedrim.

We find too, that in all the considerable Cities, where the Apostles founded Churches, they Ordain'd El-

ders; as *Barnabas* and *Paul* are recorded (*d*) to have done in *Derbe*, *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch*. What was the number of these we are not told, nor what Superiority there might be amongst them: and in these circumstances also they answer to their Predecessors, the *Presbyters* or *Judges* of *Israel*; of whom (as we have seen) the Scripture has only said, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in all thy Gates*, not expressing the number of those *Provincial Judges*, nor distinguishing between the *Prince* or his *Vicegerent*, and the rest of them. The number, I presume, of our *Christian Elders*, was various in various Places. Where there were many, one of them was appointed to be their *Chief*, and *Father of the Consistory*; if we will be guided in our Opinion by the very early uniform Practice of the next Age (*e*): and where there was but one, he too in probability was a *Presbyter* of that rank, and had Authority to assume to himself Colleagues, as the occasions of the Church should require. And in this Supposition these *Fathers Presbyters*, are those who are properly to be called *Bishops*,

(*d*) Acts 14. 23.

(*e*) Chap. VIII.

Bishops, in the determin'd sense of the Word; as all *Presbyters* might be, in the larger acception of it.

These *Christian Elders* have, by Mr. *Selden*'s *Concession*, the Power of the *Limited Elders* of the *Jews* (*f*): and so, in his Opinion, they were only to Instruct and Direct, by Expounding and Exhorting; and to Bind and Loose, by Decision of Cases of Conscience, and pronouncing Lawful and Unlawful, as in the First Council at *Jerusalem*. And this Limitation he thinks proper, because the *Presbyters* of the *Jews*, we have seen, had no power in criminal Causes, if ordain'd out of *Judea*; and in his Opinion even their other Authority, out of their own Country and Dominion, was only from the Agreement of their People, and the connivence of Princes under whom they liv'd.

(*f*) *De Syn.* 2.7.9.

It were enough for my present Intent, if the *Christian Elders* answer'd the *Jewish* but thus far. But that they had a greater Authority given them, the very Expressions of the Scripture seem to speak: As, *Obey them that have Rule over you, and submit your*

selves (*g*): Those that *are over you* (*h*), preside over you; such who are over the Church, so as to *Rule* it (*i*), as the Master of a Family is over his own Children, and *Rules his House* (*k*): Which Expressions, though they may be strain'd by narrow Construction to signifie Teaching and Exhortation only; yet they most naturally imply something of Coercion besides; and that they were us'd always to connote in the *Old Testament*. But the comparison St. *Paul* makes in the last place, between a Family and a Church, will hardly bear the restrain'd Interpretation; unless the *Paternal* Power was abridg'd as well as the *Presbyteral*, and was left to Instruct and Exhort only.

(*g*) Heb. 13. 17.
(*h*) 1 Thes. 5. 12.
(*i*) 1 Tim. 5. 17.
(*k*) 4. 4.

Now as the Words are ready to signifie a greater Power, so such a one there was remaining to be signified; that of Admitting into the *Christian* Communion, suspending from it, and ejecting out of it; a Power which the *Jewish* Presbyters had, and the *Christian* Society did not want, as we shall presently find (*l*).

(*l*) Chap. 5. & 9.

Neither

Neither did even Capital or Civil Power ceaſe to belong to *Chriſtian* Presbyters, for the reaſon given by Mr. *Selden:* not becauſe they were created out of *Judeas* for Chriſt's Kingdom was no longer confin'd to one Country, and every Land was holy: nor becauſe no ſort of Civil Power could be exercis'd in another Kingdom; for ſuch a Power might have demanded Obediences in Conſcience, though it could not have oblig'd it by armed Force: But rather, becauſe the Kingdom, in which they were Officers, was not of this World; was not to judge, or divide Inheritances; nor to entertain Legions for the Peace of its Government, and Execution of its Sentences; they being to conduct the Church to another Life, and Authoriz'd to Rule over it and controul it by that Reſpect.

Though therefore the *Chriſtian Elder* be not ordain'd to Temporal Power, yet he ſucceeds to the *Jewiſh Preſbyter* in his fulleſt Right; not wanting that Power, becauſe he wants any thing of Proper Authority; but becauſe he is commiſſion'd to act in another

Sphere, and above these lower concerns: as our blessed Saviour's Authority, abstracted from his Omnipotence, was not less than that of the former Law-giver, *Moses*; though he was pleas'd to waive the Power of Life and Death.

And thus far we have consider'd the *Christian Elders* resembling the *Jewish*, in respect of the Church, as a Society; in like manner they presided over it as an Assembly, Appointing, Directing, and Governing their Meetings, by Doctrine and by Censure; as is well known, and will appear further hereafter.

§. VI. FROM this Agreement of the *Jewish* and *Christian* Church, in the Superiour Officers, we have reason to look for the same in the Lower which remains, that of a *Deacon*.

In the Appointment before cited from *Deuteronomy*, we are to remember, That *Officers* are mention'd as well as *Judges*; and these, though acknowledg'd to be Rulers and Men of Authority (*a*), were yet of an inferiour rank, and subservient to the Elders.

And

And accordingly *Josephus* stiles them *Ministers*, or Under-Officers; and speaks as if to every Court of Seven Elders, there were (in the earlier Days) two of these Officers appointed, and out of the Tribe of *Levi* (*b*).

This *Ministerial* Office seems to have consisted of several Imployments, and of different Degrees; whatever belongs to Sheriffs, Protonotaries, and Clerks of Courts, to Marshals and Cryers, Bayliffs and Executioners: The business of it was, to write the Orders of the Senate, and to Proclaim and Execute them, to send out Process, to Summon, Arrest, and Punish. And it is observable, that the *Rabbins* (*c*) allot to every Consistory of Twenty Three, two Scribes Attendant (*d*), and also two Under-Sheriffs, or Executioners, whom they call by the same Name they give to the Reader of their Prayers, as we shall presently see; a Name common heretofore to all Under-Officers, in the head of whom were the Two Scribes, mentioned therefore by *Josephus* more particularly.

(c) *Seld. de Syn.* 2, 5, 4. *Maim. Tract. San.* c. 1. §. 10.

Besides these Officers of *Judicature*, there were others who had the charge of their *Charity*.

Now the *Jews* take themselves to be very strictly oblig'd to provide for the Necessitous of their Religion, and to support them in some measure answerably to their Quality (*e*). For this purpose there are Collectors in every City deputed, some who go about every day to gather Bread and Meat, Collectors of the Basket. Others, commonly two, and to whom a third is to be join'd in the Distribution, who go about every Week to gather the Almes, and if need be, the Tax for the Poor (*f*). These were call'd Collectors from their Gathering, and *Parnasim* (*f* 2), or Pastors from their supporting and Maintaining; a Word that signifies not only this Office, but Government in general, and might be said of Elders, or any other Rulers.

(*e*) *Maim. de Donis Paup.* cap. 7. 3.

(*f*) Ibid. c. 9.

Answerable to these *Collectors* of Cities, there were in the Temple (*g*) *Collectors* too; call'd *Gizbarim*: and it may be observable, that these were under *seven* others nam'd *Immarcalim*, who had the Custody and Keys of the Sacred Treasury. We have seen also (*h*) that

(*g*) *Lightfoot's* Temple Service.

(*h*) §. IV.

that *Seven good men* of a City are particularly remember'd, and though their imployment be not well aſcertain'd; yet it is plain, that the Goods of the Community were under their Ordering.

The *Officers* now ſpoken of, belong to their *Civil Society*: for their *Religious Aſſemblies* there are others.

The ordinary Synagogue-Officer is known by the name of *Chazan*; (the ſame, as I have ſaid, which they give to their Executioner.) This Name *Epiphanius*, one not unacquainted with the Affairs of the Jews, expreſly renders by Miniſter (*i*): the very ſame word, which *Joſephus* had us'd to ſignify thoſe Officers in *Deuteronomy*, attendant upon the Judges.

This is their *Præcentor*, who under the Higher Rulers, the Elders (now the *Rabbins*,) takes care of the Service of the Synagogue; Says Prayers, ſhews the Leſſons, calls and directs thoſe who are to read; ſuch a one as that *Miniſter* is ſuppos'd to be, to whom *our Saviour, when he had clos'd the Book, gave it* again. And this Miniſter has commonly under him another Servant of

of the Synagogue, a *Sacristan*, who looks to it, and keeps all things safe and clean.

§. VII. TO these Civil, and Religious Officers of the Jewish Synagogue, Deacons, I suppose, are answerable: *Bishops and Deacons*, or Presbyters and Deacons, being join'd together in the New Testament, as *Judges and Officers* were in the old.

Now in the Christian Use the word *Deacon* or *Minister* is very differently applied, according as the Services are different, in which he is imploy'd. Our *Saviour* is the *Minister of Circumcision* (*a*) a *King* the *Minister of God* (*b*). And the *Apostles Ministers of Christ* (*c*). But a *Minister* or *Deacon*, absolutely so call'd in the New Testament, is an Officer under the Bishop or Presbyter: and the first appointed were the *seven* (*d*), Ordain'd by the Apostles with Imposition of hands.

(*a*) Rom. 15. 8.
(*b*) Rom. 13. 14.
(*c*) 1 Cor. 4. 1.
(*d*) Act. 6.

These were *Men of Honest Report*, who were to ease the Apostles of the Administration of the Charitable Revenue of the Church; not to be *Gatherers* of the Basket, I suppose, or Servers

vers of Tables; for that the Apoſtles ſure did not do before: but to be Treaſurers and Superintendants, ſuch as were the Seven of the Temple, or the *Goodmen* above-mention'd *of a City*.

For though the Greek word for *Miniſtring*, does ſometimes ſignify, to *wait* and *ſerve at a Table*; yet, as we juſt now noted, it is by no means reſtrain'd to that low ſenſe; but is ſaid as well of the Office of our Bleſſed Lord, and of his Apoſtles, and alſo of Kings; that is, of any the Nobleſt Adminiſtrations; and may therefore anſwer the word *Parnas*, in its Higheſt meaning.

Neither is it at all neceſſary, that the Office of a *Deacon* ſhould be wholly Oeconomical; becauſe it was firſt erected in the Chriſtian Church, on that occaſion. While the whole Church was yet but as one Family, under the immediate Government of the Apoſtles, and they had not yet Created any other Officers; the firſt Officers were indeed inſtituted upon the firſt emergent want, and were order'd then eſpecially to take care of that, and to manage the publick expence: but they were alſo to be, as we may well ſuppoſe,

pose, subservient to the Apostles in other *administrations*, and to Publish and Execute all their Orders. For the Qualification of them was, to be *full of the Holy Ghost and Wisdom*: and certainly a *Wisdom*, beyond that of common managery; and a *Spirit*, more than Oeconomical, was then understood. Though therefore those Deacons were not to *give themselves up to Prayer and the word* only; yet they might have had their part even in those Functions: as St. *Stephen* we find had; whose Preaching the Scripture records, more than his Good Husbandry; and who *speaking by* that *Wisdom and Spirit*, for which he was but now chosen into his Office, became the first *Martyr*, as well as first *Deacon*, of the Gospel.

These Deacons, it should seem, were Extraordinary; attending Ministerially upon the Apostles, as upon the *twelve Princes of Israel*: having been created before the appointment of any Bishops, or Subaltern Presbyters. But afterwards in every City where Bishops or Presbyters were plac'd, the Officers of this Order were constantly subjoin'd. So the Epistle to the *Philippians*

lippians is addressed to *the Saints there, with the Bishops and Deacons:* and so in the Epistle to *Timothy*, after Directions given concerning Bishops, there follow others immediately concerning Deacons: *Likewise must the Deacons* (*e*). And there, we may observe, the Qualifications of the lower Office, are near the same with those of the Higher, and as much almost requir'd in the Deacon: enough to induce us to think, that some Spiritual Duty was also to be discharg'd by Him.

(*e*) 1 Tim. 3. 8.

So much Reason there is from Scripture to conclude, that Christian Deacons did not only *Keep and Dispense* the Publick Contributions, as the *Jewish Parnasim*; but that they serv'd under their Superiors even in the *Ministery of the Word and Prayer*: as we shall certainly find them hereafter (*f*), to be Attendant upon their Bishops upon all other Business; and particularly employ'd in Assemblies, in the Office of a Jewish *Chasan*.

(*f*) Chap. VIII.

§. II.

§. II. (*a*) שליח or שליח. Ἀπόστολος.

(*c*) Grot. in Matth. *c.* 10. *v.* 5.

(*d*) Epiphan. Hæres. 30. 11. Μετ' ἐπιστολῶν ἀποστέλλε εἰς τὴν χιλίων γῆν. ὃς ἀνελθὼν ἐκεῖσε ἀπὸ ἑκάστης πόλεως τὰ ἐπιδίκαστα καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἔφερε τῷ ἐν τῇ Ἑσπερίᾳ Ἰουδαίων εἰσφερόμενα. —— πολλὰς δὴ κακῶς καταστάντων Ἀρχισυναγωγῶν, καὶ Ἱερέων, καὶ Πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ Ἀζανίτων, (δὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διακόνων ἐρμηνευομένων ἢ Ὑπηρετῶν) κατειρῶν καὶ μετανοῶν ἐκκόπτετο.

(*d* 2) Ἀξιωματικοὶ ἄνδρες Ἀπόστολοι καλούμενοι περιτρέχουσι τὴν Πατριάρχου. Epiph. Hæres. eâd. §. IV.

§. III. (*a*) פקיד a פקד *Visitavit*, *Præfecit*: cui respondet Arabicum وفد, (Conjugat. octav.) *Inquisivit*, *Inspexit*. Ἐπίσκοπος.

(*i*) פקיד כהן הראש exponitur per משרתו המנונה תחת כהן הראש והוא סגן כהונה

(*l*) The *Chaldee* of the *Targum* is much the same with the *Hebrew* of *Rabbi Salomon*.

(*m*) הפקיד הגדול

§. IV. (*a*) Γερουσία, *Senatus*, *Seignieur*, Alderman. *Vid.* Selden. *de* Synedr. *l.* 1, *c.* 14.

(*c*) Καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ.

(*k*) שבעה טובי העיר *De quibus consuli poterit* Rhenfordius, *Dissertat. Philolog.* 1. *de decem Otiosis Synag.* §. 109. &c.

§. VI. (*a*) Upon those Words of the Text, שפטים ושטרים *R. Salomon* expounds the last by הרודים; and *Aben Ezra* by המושלים. And upon this occasion I would only offer, whether the Κυβερνήσεις of St. *Paul*, [1 *Cor.* 12. 28.] may not be understood of this Office, as it was supply'd by the *Deacons* of the New Testament, according to what is propos'd in the next Section. And this the rather, because the Ἀντιλήψεις, mentioned just before these Κυβερνήσεις, may well be taken for *Presbyters*: the Word in the Old Testament, by which

which their Duty is expreſs'd, and which we tranſlate, *Bear the Burden with thee*, [*Exod.* 18. 22. *Numbr.* 11. 17.]; being in both places render'd in the *Septuagint* by Συναντιλήψονται σοι. These Offices, I would ſuppoſe, had, in the Beginning of the Goſpel, the Spiritual Gifts of proper Abilities: as the firſt *Seventy Elders* were endued with a Portion of *Moſes* his Spirit; which is judged too by the *Jews* not to have reſted upon them long, much leſs to have continued to the Order. For as to the Higher Degrees, with which the Apoſtle there begins, of, *firſt*, *Apoſtles*; *ſecondarily*, *Prophets*; (to which *Evangeliſts* are ſubjoin'd in the Enumeration made *Epheſ.* 4. 11.); and *thirdly*, *Doctours*; theſe alſo may well be taken to bear Proportion to the different Diſtributions of the Holy Spirit, which the *Maſters* of the *Jews* obſerve to have been made to the Authors of the Old Teſtament, and according to which they are known to divide its Volumes: The *Firſt* conſiſting of the *Five Books of Moſes*, their great *Apoſtle*; the *Next* of the *Prophets*, whom they diſtinguiſh by the *Firſt*, (as *Joſhua*, *Judges*, &c.) and by the *Latter*, (as *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, &c.) who may be reckoned for *Evangeliſts*; and the *Laſt*, being made up of the *Holy Writings*, (as they call them) which are chiefly *Doctrinal*.

(*b*) Joſeph. Archaiol. 4. 8. Ἀρχέδωρος ὁ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν Ἄνδρες Ἑπτὰ ——— . Ἑκάστῃ δ' Ἀρχῶν Δύο Ἄνδρες ὑπηρέτας Διδόασιν ἐκ τῆς Λευϊτικῆς φυλῆς, where ὑπηρέτης is known to ſtand for *Miniſter Publicus*, *qui Magiſtratui apparet*.

(*d*) שרשו, the Word of the Text, has, in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* of the Scripture, the general Signification of *Government* and *Command*. And in the *Arabick* Dialect سطى ſignifies *Præfuit ut Inſpector*; as مسطى is *Præfectus*, *Inſpector*: but this laſt Word is, beſides, the ſame as *Commentarienſis*, *Is qui annotat quæ cunque ad rem curandam aut gerendam ſpectant*, as *Golius* renders it; and ſo carries the Signification of its Original سطى, *Delineavit*, *Scripſit*; and likewiſe expreſſeth the γραμματεισαγωγεῖς, or γραμματεῖς of the *Septuagint*, and the *Scribes* attending upon the *Rabbinical Sanhedrim*.

(*f* 2) פרנס, Signifies *Gubernare*, *Regere*; and also *Pascere*, *Cibare:* and so in the *Arabick* قرنس is *Summus Pagorum Præfectus*; & قرنسة *Mulier œconomica*, *quæ rem Domesticam egregie administrat.*

(*i*) *Azanitæ* are rendred by *Epiphanius* (as above, §. II. *d*.) ὑπηρέται ἢ Διάκονοι: and חזן with the *Jews* signifies not only the Minister of the Synagogue, as a Place of Worship, but any other *Minister* of a Society; and is the Name of those that have the Night-Watch of a City, and of those who wait upon their Judicial Consistories, and serve their Writs, and keep their Prison, and execute their Sentences even to Corporal Punishment. It is us'd to be derived from חזה *vidit*; and so has been supposed by some to answer to Ἐπίσκοπος: as if from this Employment the Episcopal Office was to be derived likewise. But this Etymology begins to be dislik'd, and is rather fetch'd from the *Arabick*, where it seems to be answered in part by كصن *custodivit*, and by كزان *Thesaurarius*, *Condus:* though if a Radical *Mem* may be admitted to be changed into a *Nun*, (as the *Servile*, it is known, usually are in the *Chaldee* Dialect); I would then chuse to bring it from خدم whose simple Signification is *Inservivit*, *Ministravit*, and directly answers to the Greek Διακονεῖν and Ὑπηρετεῖν.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§. I. *The* Excommunicates *of the* Jews, *and their Condition.*

§. II. *The Condition of* Mourners *among the* Jews, *compared with that of the* Excommunicate.

§. III. *Their* Excommunicates *restrained from the Liberty not only of* Civil Conversation, *but of* Religious Communion.

§. IV. Excommunication *mentioned in the* New Testament, *as practis'd by the* Jews, *and by* Christians.

AFter this Parallel of the *Officers* of either Church; I proceed to the *Discipline* they are remembred in Scripture to use, That of *Excommunication:* A Subject upon which Mr. *Selden* hath much enlarged; and an *Abstract* of it from him I here give you.

§. I. *EXCOMMUNICATION*, or the Debarring a Man by Command from the Liberty of *Conversation* with his Brethren, was a Method used by the *Jews* long before our Saviour's time,

as well as the other corporal Restraints by *Imprisonment* or *Banishment*; and the Shame and Inconvenience, even of the lighter kind of it, was almost equal to that of *Stripes*, and intended to prevent them.

Indeed there was with the *Jews* a kind of Censure, called by them a *Rebuke* (*a*), which, from the Mouth of a Grave Person pronounc'd for an Offence committed before him, had that Force, as to shame the *Delinquent*, and oblige him to his good Behaviour, and a particular Modesty, for the space of *Seven Days*. But this was a *Reproof*, rather than a *Sentence*; and seems to have oblig'd in *good Manners* only: neither did it restrain the Party from ordinary *Converse*: or needed any Satisfaction to be given, but expired at the end of the Week.

But the *Excommunication* of which we speak, was a *formal Sentence*, pronounced for some Misdemeanour or Crime; either by the Consistory, or by a Qualified, or even by a Private, Person.

The *First* and lighter *Degree* of *Excommunication* (*b*), was that by which the

the Person was obliged to keep from all other *Israelites*, (and they likewise, in most Cases, from him) the Distance of *Four Cubits*, a Distance the *Jews* are bound to put between themselves and some sorts of impure things, whenever they are about their Prayers or their Law; as he was also oblig'd to suffer some other Inconveniences, which shall be presently mention'd.

This *Sentence* was inflicted either by a Private Man, for some Offences done in his Presence, whereof there are *Twenty four Cases* expressed (*c*); or further, by a Graduate in their Law, for the Contempt of his Person; or by the Magistrate, as they should see Cause: and in Pecuniary Causes brought before the Consistory, it is particularly noted, that they proceeded not to *Excommunication*, until *three Admonitions* had been made to the *Defendant*, three Court-days before; and that then the *Excommunication* pass'd, not in Consideration of the *Plantiff's Wrong*, but for the *Contempt of the Court*.

(*c*) *Maim. Fad. Ch. l. 1. Tract. 3. cap. 6. sub finem.*

This *Excommunication*, of Course, was to continue upon him *Thirty Days*; and within that time he was to endeavour

for *Absolution*, making Satisfaction as the Case should require. And this Satisfaction possibly was to be offered in Judicial Cases to the Injured Party, by the same Method we find directed on another Occasion (*d*): as when an Offender, endeavouring on the *Expiation-Eve* to be reconcil'd to his Brother, is first ordered to go to him, and beg Pardon; and if he obtains it not, then to take with him *three Witnesses*, and twice more to make the like Application; and until then he is not supposed to have discharged his Duty.

(*d*) *Buxtor. Syn. Jud. cap.* 25.

But if this *Sentence*, though pass'd by a Private Man, was suffered by the *Excommunicate* to remain upon him those *Thirty Days*; he was then to be excommunicated by the Consistory for that his Contumacy, and so remain for *another Thirty Days*, if not restored before by their Decree.

This, all the while, is that *Lighter* kind of *Excommunication*; and in all those Cases the Restraint of the Distance of *Four Cubits* did certainly obtain. There are also other Inconveniencies and Penalties, that belong to this sort of Sentence as certainly; (for whether

ther they lay the first thirty Days in the Case of one suffering under a private *Excommunication*, I need not determine;) and they are these, according to *Maimonides (e)*. It was not lawful for him all the Days of his Excommunication, to trim his Hair, or cut his Nails; to wash Himself, or his Cloaths, or to put on New: no more than it was for a *Mourner*. He was not to be one of those with whom Grace was said, at a Meal where there were Three or more; neither was he to be reckoned one of the *Ten*, who were to make up the full Number of a just Assembly: although he might Teach the Unwritten Law, or be Taught; and might Hire, or be Hir'd. But if he dy'd excommunicate, they sent and laid a Stone upon his Coffin, declaring thereby, That they *stoned* him, for his *Separation* from the Congregation.

(e) *Maim.* ibid. *c.* 7. §. 4, &c.

There was *another*, a *heavier* and more Terrible, *kind of Excommunication (f)*, which the Consistory might upon some weighty Cause pronounce at the first Instance, but which was inflicted generally upon those who persisted ex-

communicate those above-mentioned *Sixty Days*. And then the former Penalties were aggravated with others: and the Party was Disabled to Teach, or to be Taught; to Hire another, or be Hir'd himself; to Give, or to Receive: neither was there to be any Communication with him, but for Sustenance only (*g*).

(*g*) *Maim. eodem c.* 7.

This was a Horrible Sentence, full of Curses and Execrations upon the Party; and to the Observation of it, the Congregation was oblig'd, as by a Vow confirm'd with an Oath. It was therefore, and is (*h*), pronounc'd with great Solemnity; by Sound of Horns, and Black Torches burning.

(*h*) *Leo de Mod.*2,3,4.

The Penalties I have specifi'd above belonging to both these Degrees of Excommunication, (for the Third commonly added (*i*), seems now not to be well grounded), are from *Maimonides*; where he speaks succinctly and occasionally only of *Excommunication*. But of the *Second Sort* of *Excommunicates* I am to add, That in some Cases they were not only kept at the ordinary Distance, but were absolutely secluded from

from promiſcuous Converſation, as Lepers, (for with them they are ranked (*k*)); and ſhut up in ſome remote Cell: and that their Eſtates were ſometimes forfeited to Sacred Uſes; and they themſelves reputed as wholly ſeparated, and cut off from the Congregation of the Children of *Iſrael*; as the Decree in *Ezra* (*l*) imports.

(*k*) *Mor. de Pœn.* 4. 25. 7.

(*l*) Ezra 10. 7, 8. *Selden, de Syn.* 1. 7.

I am likewiſe to add further, what belongs certainly to this *Second kind*; if it does not to the *Firſt*, as *Morinus* ſuppoſes; that it was much queſtioned by the Ancient Maſters, whether an Excommunicated Perſon were not bound to Rent his Cloaths, to Cover his Head, and to Turn his Bed, (the lower Part, I ſuppoſe, upwards;) and whether he were not forbid, (as to waſh, ſo) to anoint; to come near his Wife; to make, or return Salutations; and to wear the *Tephillim* or Praying Ornaments (*m*): as it was commonly agreed by them, that he was not to wear Shoes in a City, though abroad and in the Country he might; and that he was not to exerciſe his Trade by day; nor to waſh, except Face and Hands, and Feet, and in cold Water.

(*m*) *Mor.* ib. 4. 23. 4.

§. II. AND these Particulars, tho' very minute, I have the rather mention'd, that the Correspondence, which is generally suppos'd, between the *Excommunicate* and the *Mourners*, may better appear.

For a *Jew* that has lost a near Relation, is obliged to *mourn* for him *Thirty Days*, (for a Father or Mother *Eleven Months*): and, besides that, the next of Kin to the Dead is bound to tear his Garment, upon the first News of his Death, and at his Burial, (as all are bound to do who are present at his Death); all *Mourners* on the *First* day, for their deep Sorrow are suppos'd to Groan; the *Three First*, they are presum'd to Weep; the *Seven First*, to Lament; and on *all* the *Thirty*, to express their Sadness by some Neglects of themselves, (a).

(a) *Maim.* §. 14. *Tractat.* 4. *seu de Lugente, cap.* 13. §. 11.

On all the *Thirty*, those who mourn for any of their Near Kindred forbear to cut their Hair or Nails; to wear any Garment that is White, and Pressed and New; to Marry; to be present at any Feast of Mirth; and to go

Merchan-

Merchandizing from their own Town to another (*b*): neither was it proper for others to ask after their Health by way of Salutation (*c*).

(*b*) *Maim.* ibid. *c.* 6.

(*c*) Ibid. *c.* 5. 20.

On the *First Seven*, it was further forbid the *Mourner* to wash his Cloaths; or to wash himself, except his Feet and Hands only, and that in cold Water; to anoint; to come near his Wife; to have Sandals on in the City; to do any Work, either hir'd himself, or hiring others; or to open his Shop, or give and receive in Merchandize; to read the Written Law of *Moses*, &c. or to learn or explain the Oral: To have any Bed in his House standing, and not to lie himself upon one turn'd; to have his Head and Upper part of his Face uncover'd; or *lastly*, to salute or ask after another's Health, except saluted first (*d*). Further, on the *Three first Days*, He was not to resalute, tho' he were saluted (*e*); nor to do any Work, not in Private, and though he were fed by Alms (*f*).

(*d*) Ibid. *cap.* 5.

(*e*) *cap. eodem* §. 20.

(*f*) §. 8.

And lastly, on the *First Day*, it was unlawful for him to eat or drink of his own Meat or Drink, (though even Flesh sent by others he might eat, and drink

drink for Digestion of their Wine;) neither was he to wear his *Tephillim*; and he was bound to sit upon his Bed-stead turn'd (*g*).

(*g*) Ibid. c. 4. 9.

But if his Dead was yet in his house, (and their Dead they think it their Duty to bury as soon as they can;) he was not to eat in his own House, if any Friend's were near: however (except on a Sabbath) he was not to eat sitting; nor to eat Flesh, or drink Wine; nor to say a Solemn Blessing or Grace himself, neither was any other of his Company to do it before him; and he was excused from all Offices of Worship and Prayer (*h*).

(*h*) §. 6.

This is an Abstract of the Usage of *Mourners* among the *Jews*; and may help us to understand the better, what shall follow, as well as what has been premis'd, concerning Persons *Excommunicate*: the same Restraints, as we see, lying upon Both. And it may be, as Thirty Days were a common Number both to *Excommunicates* and *Mourners*, so the *Excommunicate* of the first Thirty Days, were first reckoned as *Mourners* at large; of the latter Thirty, as the *Mourners* of the Seven Days; and

and the *Excommunicates* of the other Degree, the *Cherem*, might be rank'd with the *Mourners* of the Three days, or rather of the First, if not with those that had not bury'd their Dead; while some of them, the *Cutt off*, were esteem'd even in a worse Condition than the Dead themselves.

§. III. AND thus I have given you a brief Account of the *Jewish Excommunication*, and not disagreeable to what Mr. *Selden* has discoursed at large in his Book *de Synedriis*: tho' in what I am next to mention, I shall be oblig'd to differ from him.

He indeed has given himself some pains to prove, That this *Excommunication* was not directed by *Moses*, nor is observ'd any where in Scripture before the *Babylonish Captivity*: neither am I much concern'd in that Point; it being sufficient for our purpose, that it had been in Practice four or five hundred Years before our Saviour, and was in his time the Received Law, and Canonical Discipline of their Church.

But

But of their *Church* I desire to be understood, and in the fullest Sence; notwithstanding Mr. *Selden*'s Express Dissent: which I am bound therefore, with the *Reader*'s Leave, a little to consider.

This eminently Learn'd Gentleman, as he observes, that *Excommunication* with the *Jews* was a Civil Punishment, inflicted in Civil Cases, and by Civil Officers; so he very frequently, and very positively affirms, That it did not take place in their Synagogues or Temple, and had no Influence at all upon their Religious Worship (*a*).

(*a*) *De Jure N. & G. juxta Heb. lib.* 4. *cap.* 9. *De Anno Civ. veterum Judæor. cap.* 18. *De Synedr. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

But how far this first Observation is true, we have seen already (*b*) in the Case of *Presbyters*, by whom the Sentence was juridically pronounced. For as they were Civil Officers, but at the same time Sacred, as being Officers in God's Commonwealth, and for the Execution of His Laws; so this Excommunication, however Civil, was in the same manner Sacred, being the Punishment us'd in that Nation, which was the Church of GOD. And

(*b*) *Cap.* 4. §. 4.

And as for his other Aſſertion, That Excommunication did not operate in the Synagogue or the Temple; it is both very ſtrange, and, I believe, not well founded.

Strange it is at the firſt ſight, that thoſe who were ſeparated from their Brethren as *unclean*, in all Civil Converſation, ſhould freely mingle in Religious; and ſhould be allowed to tread on their Heels in the Synagogues, from whom they were to keep ſuch a diſtance in the Streets. And very ſtrange it is, that thoſe who were eſteem'd as *Lepers*, much more thoſe who were *cut off* from the People of *Iſrael*, ſhould be admitted into the Temple, and promiſcuouſly allowed to worſhip in that Holy Place in the Company of the Holy People. Though all this might not ſeem ſo ſtrange, when Mr. *Selden* wrote; then when People were privileged in the Houſes of God, from ſuch mannerly Ceremony, as they obſerved in their own Houſes, and in the Streets.

But this peremptory Aſſertion is not only Suſpicious, but Erroneous. And as to the Synagogue, I have the expreſs Affirmation of *Leo de Modena* (an Author

Author in Esteem with Mr. *Selden)* directly to the contrary (*c*). I shall not therefore urge any more Authority than what may be useful on another Occasion; and that is of the Practice of the *Jews*, the day before their *Expiation-Fast*. In that Evening before the Prayers for the following day begin, from the Desk of the Synagogue they suspend the Excommunications of all Transgressours whatsoever, without their Desire; and give them leave to come in, and pray with the Congregation, which in that day reputes it self as a Company of Sinners. And that such a Relaxation may appear to be more necessary, it is very formally pronounced by the *Præcentor*, assisted with two of the chiefest *Rabbins* on either side; and is conceiv'd in this Authoritative Manner: *By the Power of the Consistory above, and of the Consistory below; by the Authority of* G O D, *and by the Authority of the Church; we grant Leave and Licence, to pray with the Wicked* (*d*).

(c) *Cerem. des Juifs*, 2. 3. 3.

(d) Buxtor. *Syn. Jud.* cap. 26.

Now if Excommunication excludes from the Synagogue, we may presume it does from the Temple. But Mr. *Selden*

Selden offers to prove for the Temple, what he ſuppos'd only of the Synagogue: and his Proof is from a Paſſage in the *Miſnah* (*e*), which *Maimonides* has alſo exſcrib'd (*f*), and which with him runs thus: *All who enter'd into the Temple, went in on the Right Hand, and came out on the Left. But if any one lay under any Misfortune, he went on upon the Left Hand: And then they ask'd him, Why goeſt thou to the Left? and, if he anſwered, Becauſe I am in Mourning; they reply'd, He comfort you who dwells in this Houſe: but, if he ſaid, Becauſe I am Excommunicate; they reply'd, He who dwells in this Houſe give thee Grace to hearken to thy Brethren, that they may reſtore thee.*

(*e*) *Midd. c.* 4. 2.
(*f*) *Maim. de Ædif. Temp. c.* 7. §. 3.

And here indeed we find one *Excommunicate* within the Precinct of the Temple; but it is neither conſider'd, how far he was ſuffer'd to go, nor under what *Excommunication* he lay; things Mr. *Selden* would have examined with great Accuracy, if they would have made for his Deſign.

For if we do but read what follows of the very ſame Chapter, we ſhall ſee (what is to be remark'd alſo for other Purpoſes)

Purposes) that the Ground belonging to the Temple was very large, and several *Courts* to be pass'd, before one came to the House or Temple properly so called. *Six* are reckoned from the *first Gate*, and in this Order: Into the *First* and outmost *Court* [A], the *Gentiles*, and the *Defil'd* by the *Dead*, and even the *Dead Bodies* themselves, were admitted: tho' not only *Lepers* were excluded, for they might not come within *Jerusalem*; but *others*, who were under some *impurer* kinds of *Uncleanness*. Into the *Second* [B], neither *Gentiles*, nor the *Defil'd* with *Dead*, could enter: but those might, who were *wash'd* for *Lesser Defilements* which *polluted* but for a *Day*, and waited only for *Sun-Set* to be *perfectly clean*. The *Third* [C], was what was call'd the *Court of the Women*, and into it the *last mention'd* could not come: but *they* who were otherwise *Purified*, and only wanted to be *Expiated* by *Sacrifice*, might. The *Fourth* [D], was the *Court of the Israelites*, for those who were *Clean* and *Perfect*. Beyond this there was a *Fifth* [E], for the *Sons of Levi*: and then, lastly, a *Sixth* [F], where the

Altar

Altar [G] *ſtood*, and the *Sacrifices* were *made*, juſt before the *Porch* [H] of the *Houſe* [I K].

And now what ſort of Argument is this, that the *excommunicated Iſraelite* was not debarr'd the Liberty of worſhiping in the Temple; becauſe he was admitted into the *Outmoſt Court*, and where a *Gentile* might come as well? Whereas, for ought appears, he might be ſuffer'd to go no further; and might be kept off at the Diſtance of *Three Courts* from the Place of the *Iſraelites* Devotion. But how much leſs will this avail for an Argument, if the Excommunicated Perſon there ſpoken of was not one of the *more guilty* ſort, or not of that kind which are compared with the *Leper*, much leſs of thoſe who are wholly *Cut off* from the People of GOD?

Notwithſtanding therefore this Argument of Mr. *Selden*'s, the Preſumption from the Practice of the Synagogue would hold good for the *Temple*; and on that I might reſt: but there are other very probable Arguments that will concur to exclude

the *Excommunicate*, at least, from any near Approach in the Temple.

For tho' *Excommunicates* are not at all reckon'd by *Maimonides* in this place, and those only are mentioned here whom the Law pronounces *unclean*; yet we may suppose that these were nam'd only for Example sake, and that other States of Men lay under the same Restriction.

For, *First*, it appears from the same Author *(g)*, that none was to come into the *Court of the Israelites* in an *uncomely Dress*, with *torn Clothes*, or *long neglected Hair*. By which it is plain, That *Mourners* were not permitted to enter there during the whole *Thirty Days*; and consequently that *all Excommunicates* were likewise debarr'd thence.

And *further*, of the *Mourners* of the *first seven Days*, he elsewhere (*h*) tells us, That they *sent no Offerings to the Altar, not so much as Wine, or Wood, or Frankincense:* [not for their *Sins*, and less of *Peace*, and much less of *Thanks*.] By this *Prohibition* of *Sending*, it is imply'd, They could not *come:*

come: and ſeeing it is the ſame *Prohibition* which lay upon the *Defil'd with the Dead*; we may conclude, That theſe *Mourners* likewiſe were oblig'd to ſtop with them in the *Outer Court*, and could not paſs beyond.

Now that there were *Excommunicates* who anſwer'd theſe *Mourners*, we have ſeen (*i*); and that they kept (*i*) §. II. them company there in the *Court of the Gentiles*, we might well preſume. But the *Excommunicates* happen in this Caſe to be mention'd by our Author: and in a manner, that though it may ſeem to weaken the Inference, will be found to confirm it. It is ſaid there (*k*) of the *Excommunicates*, *That it was doubted whether they might ſend*; and alſo that *if they did ſend, the Oblation would be good.* And if this Place would have concluded any thing for their Freedom of Acceſs, or for their Advantage from thoſe Sacrifices; it would not have been omitted by Mr. *Selden:* whereas he rather ſeems to have paſs'd it by, becauſe he foreſaw it would make againſt him. For he knew well that the *Offering* being *good*, ſignified no more than that (though it were regularly to

be forborn, yet) the Reception of it by the *Priests* was no Prophanation *(k)*: and he could not but discern, That this Unlawfulness of *Sending* impli'd the Unlawfulness of their *Coming*; for otherwise no such Doubt could have been made concerning them.

And *lastly*, As for those *Excommunicates*, who were rank'd with *Lepers*, or who were absolutely *Cutt off*; it cannot but seem probable, That these were denied *Entrance* not into the *Temple* only, but even into the *Holy City*.

The contrary therefore to what Mr. *Selden* so often asserts is very evident, That no *Excommunicate Person* could go into the *Court of the Israelites*, and that many of them could go no further than the *Outmost Court*: and it appears to be very likely, That those who lay under the more grievous Sentence, were utterly excluded even from the Privileges of a *pious Heathen*. This distance They themselves were oblig'd in Conscience to keep: and if any of them were suffered by the *Priests* to come nearer; it must have been from the Want, either of Authority in the

Judge

Judge that did excommunicate, or of a *Certificate* of the *Excommunication.*

§. IV. AND now we come to the *New Testament*; and there possibly we may have an Instance of the above-mentioned *Rebuke*, in that *Reproof* given by our Saviour to St. *Peter*, (*a*) *Get thee behind me, &c.* but of their *Excommunication* the Mentions are confess'd. And in that Case when any One is said there to be *put out of the Synagogue* (*b*), as Mr. *Selden* is ready to understand him separated and secluded from the Communication of the People of *Israel* in Civil Affairs; so we are to have leave to suppose him ejected likewise out of the Synagogue *Place*, and deprivd of the Liberty of the *Temple.*

(*a*) Matth. 16. 23.

(*b*) Joh. 9. 22. 16. 2.

And further, when our Saviour directs (*c*) an *offended Brother* to *admonish* the *Offender* first in *Private*, afterwards *before Two or Three Witnesses*, and then to bring him *before the Church* or Consistory, and if he does not then amend, but continues obstinate, to esteem him *as a Heathen and a Publican*: this may well be taken to direct a Private Cha-

(*c*) Matth. 18. 15.

ritable Course, (us'd on other Occasions by the *Jews* (*d*),) to be try'd in this Case, before the *Judicial Proceedings* begin. And then what follows, may be very properly understood of the Validity of the *Sentence* of *Excommunication*, if, by the Obstinacy of the Party, the Process must be carried so far; *What ye bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and what ye loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* That is (in the *Jewish* way of Speaking, something of which may be seen in this Chapter (*e*),) the so *Condemn'd* and Excommunicated *Below*, and by *Men*, shall be *held* as *Excommunicated Above* in *Heaven*, and by *GOD* himself: and the *Absolved* by the *Consistory below*, shall be *Absolved* by the *Consistory above*. This *Meaning* supported by the *Practice* of the *Jews*, and consonant to their Expressions (*f*), the Place certainly admits; and so naturally, as not to be easily set aside by the bare force of an uncertain Criticism upon a single Word (*g*).

(*d*) §. I.

(*e*) §. III.

Our Saviour in all probability may be suppos'd to speak of *Excommunication* there: but we find expresly the

Actual

Actual Excercise of it in the Church of *Corinth*, directed by St. *Paul* upon the Person of a grievous *Offender*; and the *Sentence* given, *Therefore put away from your selves that wicked Person* (*h*). And though any one should insist upon the Variety of Rendering which may be us'd on that Text, and translate it wicked *Thing*, yet that Thing must be understood of the Person *that did this Deed* (*i*), and who ought *to have been taken away from among* the Congregation, and *delivered to Satan* (*k*), that is, Cast out of the Communion of Christ our Saviour and Comforter, or Advocate, and delivered up to Satan, to be accus'd and tormented by him. Here is an *Act* of *Excommunication*: and a *Precedent* of *Absolution* from it we have upon the same Person in the *Second Epistle*; the *Forgiving and Comforting of him* by the Church (*l*), confirm'd by the Apostles *Forgiveness* also (*m*).

(*h*) 1 Cor. 5. 13.

(*i*) 5. 2.

(*k*) 5.

(*l*) 2 Cor. 2. 7.

(*m*) 2. 10.

And thus *Excommunication*, so which whenever it was introduc'd among the *Jews*, whether by *Moses*, or some other Prophet, had long obtain'd among them before our Saviour's time; is, as we find, in probability countenanc'd

and order'd by Him, and certainly commanded and executed by his Apostle: and how this Practice was continued in the succeeding Ages, we shall see anon.

§. I. (*a*) They call it נציפה. See *Morinus de Pœn.* lib. 4. c. 28. 4.

(*b*) This is known by the Name of נדוי *Niddui*, a word that signifies *Separatio, Elongatio*; as נדה is *Separatio, Amotio, propter Immunditiem.* And to this the *Arabick* نبذ *Abegit*, and نبذ *Aversatus est, Abhorruit*, agree.

(*f*) Call'd *Cherem* from חרם *Excludere, Anathematizare, Devovere, Disperdere:* The *Hebrew* word, as is usual, containing in it the Signification of two *Arabick* Words of similary Initial Letters; the One حرم *firmiter Ligavit, Repulit, Prohibuit, Vetuit*; and the Other حرم *Resecuit, Excidit, Perdidit, Extirpavit.*

(*i*) The suppos'd *third Degree* was styled שמתא *Shammatha:* and taken to be derived from שם מיתה *Ibi est mors*; or from שם אתא *Deus venit*, as if it were the same with *Maranatha.* But the Word שמה, instead of such a peculiar Notion, is known to signifie at large *separare, excludere à Societate hominum*; and to be put frequently for נדה: and so it may be the same with the *Arabick* طمث, which is of the like Signification, connoting the same *Immundities.*

§. III.

§. III. (*g*) Maim. *lib.* 8. seu de Cult. Divin. *Tract.* 3. *cap.* 1. §. 17. ex Interpret. Ludov. de Veil. *Porro cuivis Interdictum erat Sacerdoti, juxta atque Israelitæ, ne Vino usus, vel quacunq; ratione Temulentus, neu inculté atq; horride Capillatus, aut Pannis Obsitus, omnino in Templum veniret; ne intra primum quidem illud Atrium Israelitarum. Id enim lege sancitum non erat: verum Gloria & Reverentia hujus Magnificæ Domus non patiebatur in eam quemquam intrare Sordidatum* [מנוול].

(*h*) Ibidem *cap.* 2. §. 11. *Lugens igitur Hebdomada tota munus ad Altare mittebat nullum, nec Vinum quidem, neq; Ligna, neq; Thus. Similiter Homo Leprosus nihil quicquam muneris ad Altare mittebat. Nam quamdiu hominem intra Castra venire non licebat, nec licebat cum Sacrificia facere. De homine autem ab Ecclesiæ communione sejuncto* [המנורה] *dubium est, Is utrum munus ad Altare mittere posset, necne. Quare Sacrificium ejus, si factum esset, bene fuisset* [אם הקריבו עליו נרצה] (*k*). §. 12. *Nam per Serpentem Animantem aut Rem Consimilem Inquinatus Homo, item & Incircumcisus, si Sacrificia ad Altare misisset, sane pro illo fierent.* ——— *Verum enim pro homine Funere Polluto nullum fiebat Sacrificium, interea dum Purificabatur.*

(*k*) נרצה signifies in many places not an Acceptation with Favour, but with Pardon; a Connivance and Sufferance. For so it is us'd often; as, (to give but one Instance) when it is said, [*Lib. eodem, Tract.* 7. 11. 20.] That *a Handful of Frankincense, taken out of an Offering afterwards Polluted, was it self not to be burnt on the Altar: but if it were burnt, it was accepted* [ואם הקטיר הורצה]. And so, though in another Phrase where the Discourse is concerning the Intention with which the Sacrifice was to be offered, [*Cap.* 14. §. 1.] It is also said, That *the wrong Intention of the Priest made the Abomination: but if That was Right, though the Owner of the Sacrifice were heard to speak what would cause Abomination, yet the Sacrifice was Good* [הרי זה כשר].

§. IV.

§. IV. (*f*) Several Persons are said by the *Jews* to be *Excommunicated in Heaven*, or *by GOD*, [סנורים לשמים]: as the Children of *Israel* in the Wilderness, (so mentioned in the *Chesepb Misna* upon the above-cited Place of *Maimonides*, 8, 3, 2. 11.); and those spoke of in the *Gemara*, alledged by Mr. *Selden*, *de Syn.* 1. 7. The Form too of a *Cherem*, produced by him in his Book *de Jure Nat. & Gent.* 4. 7. is said to be pronounced *ex sententia Dei, & ex sententia Ecclesiæ*, [על דעת המקום].

(*g*) His Assertion in his Book, *de Syn.* l. 1. c. 9. towards the End, is thus: *Expresso Obligationis seu Ligationis nomine ipse Excommunicandi actus nullibi, quantum observavi, apud Hebræos veteres designatur*: And he had shewn there before (and afterwards at large, *l.* 2. *c.* 7. §. 2.) That the Phrase to *Bind* and to *Loose*, in the Usage of the *Jews*, signifies to Declare *Unlawful* and *Lawful*, to *Forbid* and *Permit*.

This, it is true, is now the usual Signification of אסר: and commonly an *Excommunicate* is not termed *Bound*, but *Separated* or *Devoted*, [מנודה or סוחרם]. But the Word still continues most properly to signifie *Bound*, and stands for *Illicitum*, as it is *quid Inhibitum*: just as the *Arabick* حرم is put for *Vetitum*, under the Notion of *Prohibitum*. And besides it frequently in the *Old Testament* stands for something *bound upon* another: as our Saviour speaks of those that did Δεσμεύουσι φορτία [*Matth.* 23. 4.]; and as a Condemn'd Person may be said to be Bound by a Sentence. And whatever the Reason was, why the Word אסור was not commonly used to signifie One *Excommunicate*; it was not, because the Notion of *Binding* did not agree to that Sentence. For that of *Absolving* still remains, when the *Excommunication* is withdrawn; and the Ordinary Expression for that Act is שרי and מתיר, to *Loose* and *Set at Liberty*. Nay, contrary to the Learned Author's Negative Observation, the very Word אסר is used for *Excommunication* in one Passage of the *Gemara*, cited by himself (the *seventh Chapter* of the same Book); where one *Rabbi Samuel* is brought in speaking of the *Sound* of the *Horn*, with which the Sentence was Pronounc'd and Revok'd, טוט אסר וטוט שרי.

I there-

I therefore may more reasonably suppose, That the Word אסר was not so frequently used for *Excommunication*, not because it more properly signified to *Declare Unlawful*, (for Words of *Loosing*, though signifying to declare *Lawful*, continued also to signifie the *Absolution* of an *Excommunicate*); but because it bore another Sence of being *Ty'd* and *Bound up together*, (as אסרא and איסור are *Fasciculus*, *Manipulus*,) a Sence opposite to *Separation* and *Distance*, which *Excommunication* implies. This also is one of its *Arabick* Significations where both اسر in it self and Derivatives, imports besides the Sence of *Binding*, that of *Proximity* of Kindred: and اصر, besides that of *inclusit*, *Coercuit*, and *Peccatum*, and *Onus*, has in it also that of *Cognatio*, *Affinitas*; and the more general Signification of *Propinquus*; and thence *Vicinus fuit*, *Tentorium fixit Proxime à Tentorio alterius.* And this last Acception (if the Excursion is pardonable) the like Word עצר apparently requires, in that known Phrase [1 *Kings* 14.10.] עצור ועזוב בישראל, which is commonly rendred *Shut up and Left*, but seems rather to mean, *Those who live together in neighbouring Tents, and those who live alone, and at a Distance, with their Cattel in the Field*; (for so عذب and عزب have in them the Significations of *Longe à Mansione & seorsim abesse, sub dio versari, cum pecoribus suis procul ab hominibus pastum recedere:*) these Two Sorts of People, with those that liv'd in *Wall'd* Houses, making up the whole Number of the Children of *Israel*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *Circumstances ralating to Baptism, under Five Heads; practis'd in the Church of Christ in the Second Century.*

§. II. *These all agreeable to* Jewish *Custom: and* First, *in General; as to the Persons baptiz'd and Baptizing, and the Solemn Time of Baptism:*

§. III. *In Particular*; Secondly, *as to the Distinction and Instruction of its* Candidates;

§. IV. Thirdly, *As to the Action of Baptism*;

§. V. Fourthly, *Its Confirmation*;

§. VI. *And* Lastly, *the Sequel and Close of the whole Ceremony.*

§. I. HOW much the *Ordinances* of *Christianity*, Recorded in the Scripture, agree with those of the *Jewish* Church, we have seen. Now several Circumstantials of those Ordinances are remembred to have been practis'd in the next Age; as well as several other Usages, of which the *Scripture* is silent: and whether they were not deriv'd from the *Jews* also, we now come to consider.

I begin with the *Rituals* and *Circumstances* of *Baptism*, many of which were undoubtedly

undoubtedly practis'd very early in the *second Age*, being mention'd by *Tertullian* at the latter end of it, as used then by the *Church* time out of Mind.

Now this Author, in his Treatise which he writ expresly of *Baptism*, and besides scatteringly in other places, hath happily inform'd us, both *in general*, concerning the Persons capable of Receiving this Sacrament, Those Able to give it, and the Common Time of Administring it: and also, *particularly*, concerning the Administration of it, letting us know some Circumstantials of the Preparation to the Action, of the Action it self, of the Seal or Confirmation of it, and of the Solemnity that afterwards attended it.

First, The *Church* at that time Baptized *Children*, their *Godfathers* undertaking for 'em (*a*); as well as *Grown Persons*: and the Solemn Time for the Administration of that Sacrament was (*b*) the *Paschal Season* [1].

What I have added in this Column for Explication, is taken out of other Authors, not later than the IV*th. Century.*

1. [*Saturday* in the Evening before *Easter-Day*, Cyril. Cat. Myst. 1. Ambr. de Sacram. 1. 1.]

The

The *High Priest*, who is the *Bishop*, had the Right of conferring it; and the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* by his Authority: tho' the *Lay-Men*, in Case of Necessity, had Right to give it also (*c*).

2 [Those of the *Middle Kind*, and not yet *Christians*, were also (at least afterwards) subdistinguished. The *Hearers* were such as had been informed of some general and Preliminary Points of the True Religion (*e*), and were half come over: if *Heathens*, having renounc'd their *Idolatry* and gross *Immorality*; and if *Jews*, acknowledging the True *Messia*; but not yet intirely satisfied in all Points necessary: suffered therefore to hear the Scriptures and Sermons for their further *Conversion*. The *Catechumens*, or those

Secondly, The *Church* then made a Distinction (*d*) between the common *Gentile* or *Jew*, and one of them in some measure perswaded to *Christianity*, called a *Hearer*, or one *under Instruction*; who profess'd *Repentance* for his past Life; as well as between the last sort, and a perfect *Christian* [2]. And those were not promiscuously admitted in its Assemblies; but had their distinct places assign'd 'em [3].

under

under Instruction, were willing to become *Christians*, and resolv'd it; but either did not esteem themselves worthy as yet, or were not fully approv'd by the *Church*: and these had their particular *Instruction*, from whence they were called; and professing Repentance for the Sins of their Unconverted State, had the Privilege to stay after Sermon, and to have the Prayers of the Congregation for them, and to be dismiss'd with a Blessing. And lastly, when they were admitted to stand for *Baptism*, they then entered into a stricter Course of *Repentance*, and had the peculiar *Articles* of the *Faith* more plainly inculcated, called now the *Enlightned*; and after frequent Examination and Scrutiny, were at last Received into the *Body* of the *Faithful* (*f*)].

3 [The Places of *Assembly*, or *Churches*, had commonly an *Area*, or *Court* before them, Cloyster'd on either Hand (*Fig.2.aa*); beyond the Court, to the *East* generally, was the Building, which we may conceive, at present, to have been in *Three Divisions*, whether they were separated or not within by any Rais'd Partitions, or distinguished without by any Difference of Structure. The Lowermost next the Outer Doors, we may call the *Ante-Church* (*Fig.2. AB*), the Next was the *Church CD*, and the Last the *Apartment* of the *Altar*, or *Sanctuary* (*EF*). Now the *Ante-Church* was also subdivided into

into *Two Parts*: and in the Lowermost Part, or *Portico (A)*, and next to the Court, was the *Place* of the *Hearers* properly so call'd: The *Catechumens* Station (*B*), was above them, next to the *Church*: And in the Head of them the *Enlightned* or *Immediate Candidates* were, I suppose, posted; being those who were in a little while to proceed further, and to be taken into the Church it self, the *Place* of the *Faithful*. And so the *Faithful* themselves were orderly disposed, according to the Difference of their Sex and Age: and the *Church* was likewise in *Two* distinct *Parts*; having the *Desk* or *Pulpit (S)*, in the Middle: that *Below* the Desk answering near to the Body of our *Collegiate Churches* (*C*), belonging to the *Women* chiefly, who were seated in the Sides of it beneath, and in Galleries above (*cc*): and the Upper Part (*D*), belonging to the *Men*; the Whole, or the greater Portion of which, is now taken up by our *Choir* (*g*).

4 [For being come to the *Porch* of the *Baptistery*, he turned to the *West*, and stretching out his Hands, spoke to *Satan* as if present; *I renounce thee, Satan*, &c. *Cyr. Cat. Myst.* and then turning to the *Thirdly*, The *Person* to be *Baptized* protested first, [among other things,] before the *Congregation*, That he Renounc'd the Devil, his Pomp, and Angels (*h*). Thence

Thence he went to the Water, and made the same Renunciation again [4]: and then he dipp'd thrice, with solemn Responses (*h*) [5].

Fourthly, When he came out of the Water, he both tasted (*h*) of a mixture of Milk and Honey; and was anointed (*i*) with the Blessed Oyntment, [the Chrism] as heretofore the Sons of *Aaron* had been anointed to the Priesthood.

He was also sign'd (*k*) or seal'd with the Sign of the Cross on the Forehead [6]. And lastly, Hands were laid upon him with the East, he said the *Creed*; and going into the Baptistery, he was stripp'd, *ibid.*]

5. [For being ask'd, whether he *believ'd in God the Father, &c.* he answer'd, *I believe*, and was dipp'd: and so at the second and third Questions concerning the other two Persons of the Trinity. *Cyrill. Cat. M.* 2. *Ambr. de Sacr.* 3. 2.]

6. [*Some Difference of Practice there was here between the Latin and Greek Church.* In the Greek the Chrism was given by the Person that officiated, on the Forehead as well as on the other Parts of the Body: [*Cyril. C. M.* 3.] as now their *Priest* Anoints the Baptiz'd, signing them with the Cross, in the Forehead, and

and Eyes, and Nostrils, and Ears, and upon the Breast, and on their Hands and Feet; and leaves only *Impositio* of Hands to be conferr'd by the Bishop at any time afterward; the Practice, as I conceive, of our Church (*l*). Whereas in the Latin Church the *Priest* anointed the other Parts, pouring the Chrism upon the Head: but it was reserv'd to the *Bishop's* confirmation, to sign the Forehead with the Chrism at the same time he laid on his Hands [*Innoc. ad Decent.*]. And this signing they call'd the Spiritual Seal, [*Ambros. de Sacram.* 3, 2.] the Holy Ghost being suppos'd to be given by that and the Imposition of Hands. And this Confirmation the *Bishop*, when present at the Baptism, administer'd to the Baptiz'd when he had put on the white Garments after his first Anointing. [*Ambros. de iis qui Myst. Init. c.* 7.]

a Blessing, calling and inviting down the Holy Ghost (*m*); and, *as the same Author expresses it*, he was overshadowed by the Imposition of Hands (*n*).

Fifthly, The next Morning (if not immediately) on *Easter-day*, they proceeded to the Eucharist (*k*) [7]: and wore their white Garments all the next Week; not allowing themselves the Use of Bathing for that time (*h*) [8].

7. [In

Then, as now

7. [In the Greek Church, even the Infants receiving it.]

8. [When also they had more perfectly expounded to them the Nature of those two great Mysteries, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to which they had been lately admitted: (as we see in the Mystagogick Discourses of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, made for that purpose.)

§ II. WITH so many Circumstances was the Initiation into the Church begun, and perfected, in those early days of Christianity: neither is it to be imagin'd that all these Rituals were the pure Invention of such *Simple Plain* men, as the first Christians appear to have been; much less can it be thought that they were borrowed, by those *pious* men, from the *Heathen Idolatry*. Whence therefore should most of these *Circumstantials* be deriv'd, but from the same *Religion*, from which the Sacrament it self was taken? And whence else should *They* derive them, who had been originally of that Religion, or Well-willers to it, as most of the first Christians were?

This conjectural Conclusion the account given above of Jewish Baptism (*a*), which we suppose the Reader to remember, will confirm: and it may be so far, as to make us willing to suppose, that a more exact Correspondence would have appear'd, if the Information from the Jews had been less defective.

(*a*) Ch. I. § 2, 3.

For *First*, That the Jews proselyted *Children* by Baptism we have there seen: and also that they requir'd *Sureties* for them; which we shall the less doubt, when we know that they do not Circumcise a Natural Jew, without a Godfather and Godmother (*b*). The *Passover* also was *their* chief Festival; and their Converts in probability capacited themselves by Baptism, *then* particularly, for its celebration: neither could the natural Jews themselves (*c*) partake of it, if they had any Servant of their House Uncircumcis'd; and, as I suppose consequently, Unbaptiz'd. These sorts of men therefore I presume were amongst those who *purified themselves before the Feast*, and added to the Solemnity of the Week or Fortnight before (*d*). And lastly,

(*b*) *Buxt.* Syn. Jud. c. 4.

(*c*) *Maim.* de Sacrific. Tract. 1. cap. 9. § 9.

(*d*) Part 1. ch. 5. § 3.

lastly, tho' any Three would serve to confer it, yet regularly it was to be done by commission from the Consistory, and I presume by the Appointment of the *Father* or President of it, to whom we suppose the *Bishop* to answer (*e*).

(*e*) Ch. 4. § 5.

§. III. *Secondly*, There was likewise a great *Distinction* of *Persons* made by the *Jews*. There was a *Common Gentile*: and there was one who believ'd the Unity of God, and *took upon him* to observe the *Precepts* to be kept by all the Descendants of *Noah* (*a*), tho' he did not oblige himself further yet; and this was a degree of approach into which he was solemnly admitted, being call'd a *Proselyte of their Gate*, as one permitted to live amongst them in the Holy-land. Further, there were those who profess'd their desire *to become Jews* (*b*): and this Profession we find was solemn, and they reputed by it of another rank; for if they did not proceed to make it good within a Twelvemonth, they were degraded, we are told, and to be esteem'd as a meer Heathen. There

(*a*) *Maim.* Tract. de *Regibus*, cap. 8. § 11.

(*b*) Ibid. § 10.

was too yet, as it should seem, a further Class, of such Stranger Servants as were Circumcis'd and *Baptiz'd* in the Quality of *Servants* (*c*), but wanted still a further Baptism to compleat them Jews: as there were others, who were Circumcis'd and Baptiz'd into perfect *Judaism*, but not yet *Sanctified by a Sacrifice* (*d*). The Proselytes of the Jews were distinguish'd by these Advances: and it is plain, that their Proselyte of the First kind, the *Proselyte of the Gate*, was of the same rank with a *Hearer*; and also that he who *undertook to become a Jew*, was in the nature of a Christian *Catechumen*; as he who was in immediate *Preparation to be Circumcis'd*, or was Circumcis'd, but waiting to be *Baptiz'd*, was in a like Class to that of the *Immediate Candidates* and Probationers for our *Baptism*; and he too who was actually Baptiz'd into Judaism, but *not yet Expiated by Sacrifice*, was in the Condition of one Baptiz'd a Christian, but yet *Unconfirm'd*, and not admitted to full Communion. So were the Steps made by a Convert of the Jews, agreeable to those of a Proselyte to Chri-

(*c*) *Maim.* Tract. de Proh Congressu, cap. 13. § 11.

(*d*) Above Ch. 2. §. 2.

Christianity. The *Instruction* also by which he was gradually brought on (*e*) was much alike to that recommended in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (*f*), proceeding gently and by easie ascents. Neither is it to be doubted, but that the Jews were severe enough in their *Scrutiny* of him, since they were so shy of Proselytes (*g*), and that a solemn *Profession of Repentance* for his former Heathenism was requir'd of him.

(*e*) The same §.
(*f*) See Note (*e*) of the former §.
(*g*) The Section above cited of the Second Chapter.

Now it is probable likewise, that these different sorts of *Persons* with the Jews, had their *different Places* and liberties of Access. For the *Apostolick Constitutions* themselves suppose the placing of the Faithful in the Assembly according to their Sex and Age, to be after the pattern of the Temple (*h*). And as a *Christian Church* has been describ'd to be separated in two Partitions, whereof the *Upper* part [D Fig.2] belongs to Men, or the Chief of them, and such as peculiarly attend on the Sacred Offices; and the *Lower* part [C] to Women, who are dispos'd of on either side of it, leaving the middle for a Passage, and to be taken up by Ordi-

nary men, or such who are not provided to go higher: so we see *(i)* that in the *Temple* the Jews were likewise order'd in two Courts; whereof the *Lower* [C *Fig.* 1] call'd that *of the Women*, had Galleries for them on either hand [cc], and in the middle those Men stay'd, who came only to Worship, and had no Offering to make *(k)*; whereas the further *Court of the Israelites* [D] was the proper place of those private Persons who brought their Oblations, and of those *Stationary* men, whose Office it was to attend upon the Daily Service.

(i) Ch. 5. §. 3.

(k) *Lightfoot* Temple-Serv. ch. 18.

And as the *two Courts* of the Temple belonging to the *Israelites*, *Men and Women*, correspond with the places of the *Faithful* in our Churches; so will the Stations of the *Aspirers towards Judaism* be found answerable to those of the *Advancers towards Christianity*. The *Second Court*, or rather Alley [*B Fig.* 1.] next the Court of the Women, where those stood who were Circumcis'd into Judaism, but not Baptiz'd, is represented by the *Inner Portico*, or Narthex, [*B Fig.* 2.] of an old Christian Church, where the immediate

mediate Candidates were plac'd, and to whom all the *Catechumeni* were properly enough added. And so the *First Court*, that *of the Gentiles* [A *Fig.* 1.] is manifestly parallel with the outward *Portico* [A *Fig.* 2.] of the Christian *Hearers:* as the space *without the Temple*, within *Jerusalem*, [a *Fig.* 1.] answers to the Cloyster'd *Area* [a *Fig.* 2.] *before a Church.*

This Resemblance the *four first Partitions of a Church* bear to the *four first Courts of the Temple:* and the same Correspondence was, I suppose, formerly observable in a Jewish *Synagogue.* For this sort of Ædifice is describ'd by *Maimonides* (*l*), with a *Desk* [S *Fig.* 3.] in the middle, from which the Law is read, and Sermons are made; and by which it was of old divided in *Two Parts.* In the *Highest*, at the upper end looking towards the Holy-land, the *Law* is plac'd in the Wall (*m*), in an *Ark* [P *Fig.* 3.]; and on each side the *Elders* are seated in a Semicircle, their Faces towards the Desk and the People, none else being suffer'd regularly to sit there (*m* 2). And in the Lower the People were orderly dis-

(*l*) Tract. de Precibus, *cap.* 11 *sect.* 2, 3, 4.

pos'd

pos'd of, the Women being in Galleries on the sides. So do these two Divisions of the Synagogue answer to the two Temple-Courts of the Men and Women: and tho' they now have no Provision for New-comers, because they expect not Proselytes (*g*); yet it can't be doubted but that heretofore the *Pious Heathens* had their places; and those who *desir'd to be made Jews*, theirs; the Heathens, I suppose, in an outward Porch [A *Fig.* 3.]; and the design'd Converts in an inner [B *Fig.* 3.], the place next within the Door, and beyond which those who come to Pray are now directed to go (*m*).

(*m*) *Maim.* Tract. de Precibus, cap. 8. sect. 2.

§. IV. *Thirdly*, AS the Christian Proselyte, so the Jewish, no doubt, made his first Renunciation in a Congregation; for if he was a Male, he was not to be circumcis'd, but in the Presence of Ten Persons (*a*). And, I suppose, as he was not admitted without the Approbation of the Consistory, so not without the Privity of the Synagogue, that any person might have the opportunity and liberty to object in

(*a*) *Buxt.* Syn. c. 4.

in the caſe of a new Member, as they had in caſe of an Officer (*b*).

When too this Proſelyte of the Jews came to the Baptiſtery, or place of Water, he had the *Interrogatories* put to him again, as we are told expreſly; and upon that was dipp'd, *&c.* and here the Parallel is very clear, as we have ſeen before (*c*).

(*c*) Ch. 2. ſect. 2.

Further, I would with the Reader's leave offer a gueſs, that the Renunciation was made too by the Jew, towards *One Point* of the Compaſs; and that he after turn'd to the contrary, and ſo enter'd the Water. For it is certain, when he was once from under the Water, and was become a Jew, he had then for ever afterwards a new Point of Direction impreſs'd, and in all his Devotions was to turn his Face towards the Holy Temple (*d*). Nor is it unlikely therefore that he put himſelf in that Poſition, when he enter'd upon that Sacred Action; and that taking his leave of the oppoſite part of the World, he took care to riſe up with that Proſpect before him: after the manner of the Jews their Predeceſſors, when they were baptiz'd again

(*d*) *Maim.* Tract. de Precibus, cap. 5. ſect. 3.

in

in *Jordan*, and pass'd through it to the Holy-Land.

In like manner I am apt to think, that the proselyted Jew tasted of *Milk* and *Honey*; both as it was the first Food of a New-born Infant, and the Product of the Land into which he was now naturaliz'd. Neither let it be thought that such Conjectures beg the Question; and that where I should prove a Parallel, I only fancy it. For as soon as we know that this Ceremony, for Example, was in use so early in the World; we cannot but observe, that it was very proper for the Jews, more proper for them than for Christians: and that therefore in all likelihood it was rather invented by them, from whom the Christians confessedly borrow'd many other remarkable Circumstances of the same Action, and with whom such Ceremonies as these abounded. And no question, as the *Rabbins* inform us of many a Rite, of which the old Testament speaks not a little; so there were many more, which they have pass'd by, and left in Oblivion, even in Subjects of which they expressly treat; and much

much more in this of Proſelytiſm, on which the *Talmudical Treatiſe* is miſſing, as Mr. *Selden* informs me (*e*). But of this particular Rite we ſhall much leſs wonder, that the Uſe of it with the Jews is forgot; when we conſider, that were it not for ſome few Writers, there would have been no footſtep of its Practice left amongſt us Chriſtians.

(*e*) *De jure Nat. & Gent. Sec. Hebr. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5 *ſub finem.*

§. V. *Fourthly*, I proceed to the Seal of this Baptiſmal Action, its *Confirmation*; and ſhall again offer to the Reader the probability of its correſpondence with the Jewiſh Rites on the ſame occaſion.

It will be eaſily imagin'd, that this New Convert, who was now become an *Iſraelite*, and had the Title to all the Honours and Privileges of it, would make haſte to be put into poſſeſſion of the Greateſt, the Admiſſion into the Holy Temple, and to the Solemn Worſhip of God: Neither will the Reader think, after ſo much Ceremony us'd upon this Proſelyte before, that this laſt Act of introducing him

into

into the House of God, was without its share of Formality.

And that there was to be a Confirmation of the Jewish Baptism, we know already in gross: and also in particular, that it was perform'd by a Burnt-Offering, joyn'd most ordinarily with a Peace-Offering, the Proselyte sprinkled with the Blood (*a*): but other Circumstances of that Action I do not find; and beg the Reader's leave again to conjecture at them from other similary cases.

(*a*) Ch. 2. sect. 2. as afore.

For, first, a *Proselyte* new baptiz'd, and purg'd from all his former Sin, and admitted to the number of *Believers*, but not yet receiv'd into their Station in God's House, was very like to a *Leper*, recover'd from the *Plague* of his *Leprosy*, (which with the Jews resembles a Sinful Life) whose Flesh was as that of a Child; and who, being now purg'd and wash'd, and restor'd thereby to the Society of his *Brethren*, was at the distance of seven days to be readmitted into his former place in the Temple. And that Solemnity was perform'd in the following

ing manner, as we know both from the Scripture and *Maimonides* (*b*). The clean *Leper* being again wash'd in the Court of the Women, and come up to the Door of the next Court, the Court of the *Israelites*, offer'd there a Sin, and a Trespass, and a Burnt-Offering; and was then anointed with the Blood of the Sin-Offering on the tip of his Ear, on the Thumb and great Toe of his right side. Afterwards, (for this might be done (*c*) many days after the other) he was *anointed with Oyl* on the same parts out of the *Priest*'s hand; and what remain'd was poured on his *Head*.

(*b*) *Lib. de Sacr. Tract.* 5. *Cap.* 4.

(*c*) *Ibid. cap.* 5. *Sect.* 4. *de Cult. Divin. Tract.* 7. *Cap.* 18. *Sect.* 8.

And further, the *Purification of a Proselyte* to come near to God into that Court, was something of the same nature with the *Consecration of a Priest*, which was nothing else but his Purification to come nearer yet, and to pass into another Court: and how that was done we learn from *Leviticus* (*d*). There was first a Bullock offer'd for their Sins, and a Burnt-Offering; and then after a Peace-Offering, with the Blood of which *Aaron and his Sons* were *anointed*, in the

(*d*) Lev. 8.

the same parts in which the *Lepers* were. After this, with a mixture of that Blood and the Holy Oyntment, they and their Clothes were sprinkled. And besides, on *Aaron*'s *Head* (if not on his Son's too) the Holy Oyntment was poured; and on his *Forehead* (as the *Rabbins* (*e*) tell us) *Moses* the Consecrator made with part of it the *Sign of a Cross*, like a Greek X (they say) or what we call St. *Andrew's Cross*. For tho' the Forehead be not mention'd in the Text to be so mark'd, yet it was the place on which the *Plate of Gold* was wore by *Aaron*, that had on it the Inscription of the *Name of God, graven in it like the graving of a Signet* (*f*). There too one of the two *Phylacteries* (or, as the Jews stile them, *Praying-Dresses*) are now always placed, hanging down from the top of the Forehead between the Eyes, and having on it a *Name of God* (*f* 2). And there those were *mark'd with a Mark* (*g*) in *Ezekiel*, who were to be spar'd by the Destroyers: and mark'd they were, as some of the *Rabbins* understand (*h*), with the *Hebrew* Letter *Tau*, which St. *Jerome* tells us

(*e*) Maim. *de Cult. Div. Tract.* 2. *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 9. Seld. *de Success. in Pont. lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.

(*f*) Exod. 28. 36.

(*f* 2) Buxt. *Syn. Jud. cap.* 9.

(*g*) Ezek. 9. 4.

(*h*) *Kimchi in locum.*

us was like a Cross in the old *Samaritan Alphabet*; like to which is the last *Coptick* Letter of the same sound; and as probably the old *Greek* T might be first made when it came from *Phænice*, the downright Stroke beginning a little higher above the transverse. Answerable to this Mark of *Ezekiel* is that made for the same purpose in the *Revelations* (*i*), by the *Seal of the Living God upon the Forehead* of the Elect: as there were others who had the *Mark of the Beast* on their Hands, or on their Foreheads, (the two places where the two Phylacteries of the Jews are fasten'd;) and as it was the Custom of the *Eastern Idolaters* to be *mark'd* with the peculiar Mark of their suppos'd Deity, and particularly on the *Forehead*.

(*i*) Rev. 7. 2. — 13. 16.

Thus was the Consecration of *Aaron* and his Sons perform'd: and tho' the succeeding *High-Priests* were for some time Anointed; yet, as the *Rabbins* say, they ceas'd to be so inaugurated before the first Captivity. And as for the ordinary Priests that follow'd, they were never admitted to their Office by a new Unction: but their Consecration

cration was, in this like the Baptism of a Proselyte, not to be reiterated, and suppos'd to descend down upon them from their first Progenitors. The Kings also of the Jews, we are to remember, were anointed with an Oyntment, but not of the Holy Composition; and those only, according to their Tradition, who were the First of their Race, or under a question'd Title (*k*).

(*k*) Selden. *ut Supra* litera e.

Now then, as the *Leper* and *Priest* were Purified much after the same fashion, and as the Case of a *Proselyte* agrees with either of them, so I am willing to suppose that his Purification was perform'd in a mix'd manner, betwixt those us'd to the other two.

The Offerings for Sin us'd to both of them, a new-born Proselyte did not want; and he therefore might be purified by *Oyntment*, as both of them were, either alone, or mix'd with the Blood of the Burnt-Offering; which Oyntment might neither be simple Oyl, nor was it to be of the Holy Sort, but of another kind, as that for Royal Inaugurations was. The Oyntment was pour'd *on the Heads* of *the Leper* and

and *High-Priest*, and also of their *Kings*: and so, I suppose, it was upon the *Head of the Proselyte*, after some parts of him had likewise been anointed with it before. For, as he was clean from the sinful Leprosy of his former state, so he was now admitted to be one of that Holy Nation a *Royal Priesthood*, or *Kingdom of Priests*: and therefore, I presume, the Oyntment on his Head was accordingly on his *Forehead* drawn in some such Figure as might mark him to be *Holy to God*. And after all, it cannot be doubted but that the *Priest* laid his Hands upon him, and blessed him; that God might lift up the *Light of his Countenance*, and his Holy Spirit might rest upon him. And if this was perform'd upon a Proselyte, probably it was not all to be done by an ordinary *Priest*; but the Proselytism was confirm'd by the leave and direction of the *High-Priest*, or his *Vicegerent*, and the *Blessing* at least receiv'd from a superior Hand.

I again confess, that this Rubrick of Jewish *Confirmation* is drawn from Conjecture: but we are sure of our

Ground, having their Authority, that there was actually such a *Confirmation* of a Jewish Proselyte: and we had reason, from the Agreement in other parts of this great Ceremony, to presume it here. We know too, that Things and Persons were *Consecruted by Oyntment*, as well as by Blood; that the *Oyntment* was us'd alone to the *Priest*, and apart to the *Leper*; and that the *Forehead* was the place with them for a *Mark* of the Name of *God*, which all the *Faithful* were suppos'd to wear.

Tho' therefore we have no express account left us of this Proceeding, yet we have reason to surmise it; and not only from the Practice I have given of the Jews in similary cases, but from frequent Allusions to such Particulars as these made in the New Testament. And, to mention but one, tho' I do not at all think with some, that St. *Paul* refers to Christian Practice, yet I do not know but he may to Jewish, and give us the Process of their Confirmation, when he says, *Now he who establisheth [confirmeth] us with you in Christ, and has anointed us in God; who hath also Seal'd*

Seal'd us, and given the Earnest of the Spirit in our Hearts (*l*).

§ VI. *Fifthly*, And lastly, what follow'd after the Christian Baptism so confirm'd is consonant likewise to Jewish Practice. For as the *Christians* new Baptiz'd omitted not to partake of the *Eucharist* the next morning; so the *Jewish* Proselytes added ordinarily to their Holocaust a *Peace-Offering* (*a*), on which they also might feast before the Lord: neither can it be doubted but that their *Infants*, if proselyted with them, did partake of the same Sacrifice.

(*a*) Ch. 2. §. 2.

And as to the *White Garments*, and the following *Weekly Solemnities*, tho' we know not certainly whether they were us'd by the Jewish Proselytes, or no; yet this we know, that they were at other times us'd by the Jews, and on like occasions. A Jewish *Baptism*, with the subsequent Confirmation, was, as we have observ'd, a kind of *Consecration* of the *Proselyte*: And as to the consecrated *Priest*, his Habit was *White Linnen*; that he put on at his entrance into his Office, and in that he is said

to have appear'd, when upon any Question concerning his Sacerdotal Pedigree, the Sentence was given for him, and he was declar'd to be of that Order (*b*). When too the *Priests* receiv'd their first Consecration, the Holy Action, we know (*c*), continued for *a Week*, to exercise and perfect them in their Office; and all that while they were to attend incessantly in the Tabernacle, for *the anointing Oyl of the Lord was upon them* (*d*). And for the last reason, I suppose, they wash'd not all that while, no more than the *Stationary* Men, who were not to *wash*, as we are expresly told (*e*) in their *Weekly Wait*.

(*b*) Maim. *de Cult. Div. Tract.* 3. *cap.* 6. *sect.* 11.

(*c*) Levit. 8. 33.

(*d*) 8. 7.

(*e*) Maim. *de Cult. Div. Tract.* 2. *cap.* 6. *sect.* 11.

§. I. (*a*) Tertull. de Baptismo, cap. 18. *Itaque pro cujusq; personæ conditione ac Dispositione, etiam Ætate, cunctatio Baptismi utilior est: præcipue tamen circa Parvulos. Quid enim necesse est Sponsores etiam periculo ingeri; qui & ipsi per mortalitatem destituere Promissiones suas possunt, & proventu malæ Indolis falli?*

(*b*) Ibid. cap. 19. *Diem Baptismo Solenniorem Pascha præstat.*

(*c*) Ibid. cap. 17. *Dandi jus habet Summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus; dehinc Presbyteri, & Diaconi; non tamen sine Episcopi autoritate, propter Ecclesiæ honorem, quo salvo salva pax est. Alioquin etiam Laicis jus est.*

(*d*) That there was in general such a distinction as follows of Persons and Places, appears from this single Passage of *Tertull. De Præscr. Hæret.* cap. 41. *Non omittam ipsius etiam Conversationis Hæreticæ descriptionem. Inprimis quis Catechumenus, quis Fidelis, incertum est: pariter Adeunt, pariter Audiunt, pariter Orant. Etiam Ethnici si supervenerint; sanctum canibus, & Porcis Margaritas licet non*

non veras, jactabunt. And as the word *Catechumenus* is us'd here, so in his Book *De Pœnit.* cap. 6. *Auditores* and *Audientes* are oppos'd to *Intincti*; and they are there spoken of as *Novitioli, Qui incipiunt Divinis Sermonibus aures rigare,* ——— *& dicunt Pristinis Renunciare, & Pœnitentiam assumunt.*

(*e*) In the Apostolick Constitutions, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 39. the Μέλλων κατηχεῖσθαι is directed to be first taught, Ἀπαιτεῖν διαφόρου τάξιν, Πεγνόιας εἴρμὸν, Νομοθεσίας διαφορὰς διηγεῖσθαι, &c.

(*f*) This Subdistinction is evident from the Writers of the IVth Century, and particularly from St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem.*

(*g*) Such an ancient distinction of Places in general is intimated already from *Tertullian* (Note *d*), and deny'd by none. And such a particular form of an Ancient Church; as I have here given (*Fig.* 2.) is the same with that represented by *Goar* in his *Euchologium.*

Neither do I chuse *Goar*'s Model, because it will best suit with the comparison I am going to make; but because it seems more agreeable to the Truth, and has less of Confusion in it, than that which *Leo Allatius* (*De Temp. Græcorum*) has figur'd out, and which others have chose to follow. And for this I have the Authority not only of *Morinus*, who had consider'd the matter, and wrote a Treatise about it (as he tells us, *De Pœnit.* lib. 6. cap. 6. §. 8.); but also of *Du Fresne* more lately, who in his Description of *Sancta Sophia* has given the Controversie on *Goar*'s side.

For they both rightly judge, that the Name of *Narthex*, which is now given, and has been so a long while to the Nave [C] of a Grecian Church, did not anciently nor properly belong to it, but to the *Portico*'s before it: *Morinus* discerning [*Ibid. cap.* 3. *sect.* 2.], and *Du Fresne* further demonstrating [*Constantinop. Christ. lib.* 3. *cap.* 18.], That Νάρθηξ signifies a *Narrow Oblong*, Πρεσμηκές τι καὶ μὴ Εὐρυόμακον. They think therefore that the *Audientes* and *Catechumeni* were there at first in their proper places, tho' upon extraordinary occasions they might come into the lower part of the Church, (as *Gentiles* also might crowd in with them); and that afterwards, when they began to go more ordinarily into the Body of the Church, (either they taking more liberty, or the Churches wanting such Porches), they then brought in with them the Names of those Places, and the *Nave* was call'd *Narthex* from their assembling in it; the upper part [D], or the Quire, being thenceforth call'd the *Church*, and the names also of the *Doors* transferr'd [*Mor. Ibid.* c. 1. sect. 12.

Du Fresne, cap. 25.]. Upon that occasion the Desk too, we may suppose, was remov'd from its former place [S], to an higher in the Quire, either in the middle of it [Σ], or on the sides; as there was also another left in the Nave. [Of this *Desk* or *Ambo*, *Morinus* may be consulted in the 6th Chapter of the abovemention'd Book; and *Du Fresne*, in the 74th and 75th Chapters of his above-cited Book; besides what *Goar* has said]. But, to shew the ancient place of the *Ambo*; still, as I am told, in some Churches the Lessons are read from the Loft over the Quire Door. And so from the modern place of the Font in a Greek Church, which was us'd anciently to be in a House apart, but is now commonly in the inner *Narthex* [B], we are left to judge, where of old the place of the *Catechumeni* was.

(*h*) This, together with what follows on this and the other Articles, is thus express'd by *Tertullian*, *De Coron.* cap. 3. *Aquam adituri ibidem, sed & aliquanto prius in Ecclesia, sub Antistitis manu contestamur nos Renuntiare Diabolo, & Pompæ, & Angelis ejus. Dehinc ter Mergitamur, amplius aliquid Respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, Lactis & Mellis concordiam prægustamus: ex eaque die Lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadem abstinemus.*

(*i*) Tertull. de Baptismo, cap. 7. *Exinde egressi de Lavacro perungimur benedicta Unctione; de pristina Disciplina, quâ Ungi Oleo de cornu in Sacerdotium solebant.* This *Unction* is express'd antecedently to the *Milk* and *Honey* in the Enumeration the same Author makes, *lib.* 1. *adverf. Marc. cap.* 14. *Nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris, qua suos abluit; nec Olenm, quo suos ungit; nec Mellis & Lactis societatem, qua suos Infantat; nec Panem, qno ipsum Corpus suum repræsentat.*

(*k*) Tertull. de Resurr. Carnis, cap. 8. *Scilicet Caro eluitur, ut Anima emaculetur. Caro ungitur, ut Anima consecretur. Caro Signatur, ut & Anima muniatur. Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut & Anima Spiritu illuminetur. Caro corpore & sanguine Christi vescitur, ut & Anima de Deo saginetur.* And, that this Sign was made on the Forehead, he elsewhere tells in the comparison he makes, *De Præscr. Hær.* cap. 40. *Mithra signat illic in Fronte Milites suos.*

(*l*) When the *Priest*, in our *Office of Baptism*, signing the Child with the Sign of the Cross on the Forehead, receives it into the Congregation of Christ's Church: for that Sign might also have been made in the Ancient Church, with Water only; according

ordinig to that of the 22d Chapter of the 7th Book of the *Apost. Constit.* Εἰδὲ μήτε ἔλαιον ἢ μύρον, ἀρκεῖ ὕδωρ.

(*m*) De Baptism. cap. 8. *Dehinc manus imponitur, per Benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum Sanctum.*

§. III. (*b*) Constit. Apost. lib. 2. cap. 57. Καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ Σκλωῇ τοῦ Μαρτυρίου ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ τύπος.

(*m*) This place in the Wall, and as it were beyond the Floor of the Synagogue, seems to be, at least, as the Gate [p] entering into the Court of the *Priests*, from whence the Law is suppos'd to be fetch'd; if it be not as a *Desk* or *Ducan* of that Court, (of which see *Lightf. Temple-S.* cap. 23.) by which name, if I mistake not, the Jews now call the space rail'd in before their *Ark* or *Heical.*

(*m* 2) This last Particular is imply'd by *Maimonidess* in the place last cited, and affirm'd by *Buxtorf*, in his *Syn. Jud.* cap. 10. (an Author very exact, and so esteem'd by the ablest Judges): however the *Jews* may have given themselves the liberty to vary from it, as they do also in other disposals of the Synagogue, which *Maimonides* gives us, and the Author of *Ceseph Misna* would reconcile.

§. IV. (*b*) Lampridius de Alex. Severo. *Vbi aliquos voluisset vel Rectores Provinciis dare, vel Præpositos facere, vel Procuratores ordinare, Nomina eorum proponebat hortans populum ut siquis quid haberet criminis probaret: dicebatque grave esse, cum id Christiani & Judæi facerent in Prædicandis Sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in Provinciarum Rectoribus, quibus & Fortunæ hominum committerentur & Capita.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *Several Particulars practis'd in the Sacrament of the* Lord's Supper, *by the Primitive Christians, which vary'd from those of the* Paschal Supper.

§. II. *These speak Our Lord's Supper to have succeeded the Paschal in its general nature, as a* Memorial of Thanks.

§. III. *The Description of a Jewish* Offering of Praise and Thanks, *with the* Feasting *upon it.*

§. IV. *The Christian* Eucharist *answer'd to it: and in what manner.*

§. V. *A Tradition of the Jews, That in the days of the* Messiah, *only the Eucharistical Sacrifice should remain.*

§. I. THE Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper* has plainly appear'd (*a*) to be rais'd by our Saviour from a *Paschal Supper*; and from that Original it might have been expected, that it should have been afterwards celebrated at that time of the year only, and in a *Night-meal*, and with *Unleaven'd Bread*: and if the First Christians shall be found to have vary'd in these particulars, it may perhaps

(*a*) Ch. 3.

haps ſeem a harder task to reconcile ſuch a different practice with the Uſage of the Jews.

Now ſuch a Difference there was in the Practice of the ſucceeding Chriſtians.

In the Scripture it ſelf (*b*) the *Breaking of Bread in the Apoſtle's Fellowſhip, and with Prayers*, daily repeated, is ſuppos'd to be done as an Office of that Sacramental Communion. Neither is it neceſſary that I ſhould bring any Proofs from the next Age, for ſuch a *frequent* celebration of it.

(b) Act. 2. 42.

And that it was not adminiſter'd with *Unleaven'd Bread*, would follow from its continual adminiſtration out of the Paſchal Seaſon, and through the reſt of the year: But it is beſides known, that the *Greek Church* has always us'd *Leaven'd Bread* on that occaſion: and the *Latins* too are confeſs'd, by the ingenious Jeſuite *Sirmondus* (*c*), to have ſo done in the beginning; tho' their Variation ſince to the contrary Uſage has much contributed to the widening of the Schiſm between thoſe two Churches.

(c) Diſq. de Azym. Opuſc. l. 3.

This Sacrament of our Lord's Supper was known too in a little time by

ano-

another *Name*, and was stil'd the *Eucharist*. That is the common Name of it in *Tertullian* (*d*): so it is call'd by *Irenæus* (*e*): and before him, about the year 140, *Justin Martyr* speaking of the Sacramental *Bread and Wine*, says (*f*), *And this Food is call'd by us the Eucharist*: and in the same sence is the Word frequently us'd by *Ignatius* (*g*), in the very beginning of this Age.

And as it had this Name very early, so it also chang'd the *Hour of its Celebration* very early, as I presume. *Tertullian* remarks the Change in these words; *The Sacrament*, says he (*d*), *of the Eucharist, which our Lord order'd at the time of Meals, and to all Persons indifferently, we receive even in our Assemblies before Day, and from the hands of none but the Presidents.* Likewise in *Justin Martyr*'s Description, (in the place above-cited,) this Sacrament appears to have been then celebrated at *Morning Prayer*.

And then, when the *Sacramental* part of the Lord's Supper was taken in the Morning, it was divided from the other *Refectory* part; for the same Disorders, I suppose, which the Apostle St. *Paul* had blam'd in the *Corinthi-*

ans

ans (*h*) : and this remain'd in its place, and continued to be a *Supper*, at which the Assembly met again, and feasted together with great sobriety, as before God. These Suppers, where all Christians, the Poor as well as the Rich, were admitted and entertain'd, were call'd *Love-Feasts*. They are expresly own'd in *Tertullian*'s Apology (*i*); are distinctly mention'd in *Ignatius* (*k*); and probably so to be understood in St. *Jude* (*l*). And these for some time continued in the Church; but were afterwards not so frequent; and at last, for the Disorders before spoke of, were not only disus'd, but forbid.

(*h*) 1 Cor. 11. 20.

(*l*) Jude 12. vers.

The *Sacramental Action*, as hath been said, was celebrated after the Morning Prayer, beginning with the *Oblation* of Bread and Wine: (and the Wine, we may observe by the by, was ordinarily mix'd with Water). For those Creatures they *bless'd* God the Father through Jesus Christ; and then, after some Prayers and Hymns, He is *invok'd to send down* his Holy Spirit on the offer'd Bread and Wine, to sanctifie it, and that it may become to the Worthy Receivers the Body and Blood

of

of his Son (*m*): after which it was distributed by the Deacons to the People, and sent also to the Absent (*f*).

§. II. This was the Christian Practice undoubtedly in the Primitive Church: nor does it want a *Jewish Pattern*.

Our Saviour, as it hath been premis'd (*a*), took occasion from the Paschal Memorial of the Redemption of *Israel* out of their *Egyptian* Slavery, to institute a commemoration of a new and far greater Deliverance of all Mankind from the eternal Bondage of *Satan* and Hell.

(*a*) Ch. 3. Sect. 2.

And whereas it has been observ'd (*b*) that the first Paschal Lamb of the *Jews* was a Sacrifice of a mix'd extraordinary nature, being in part Propitiatory, in part Federal, and partly Eucharistical: It is likewise manifest, that the *Sacrifice of our Saviour* was also of an eminent extraordinary kind. It was a Sacrifice *for Sin*, taken in the most strict acception, being perfectly Expiatory: It was also *Federal*, for in that Blood the New Testament or Covenant was made; and in that same re-

(*b*) Ibid. Sect. 1.

respect it was in some sort an *Offering of Peace*; obtaining not only Pardon, but Favour for Men.

And further, as the succeeding Paschal Sacrifices, tho' commemoratory of the First, yet vary'd something from it; being chiefly of an *Eucharistical* nature, and not perform'd with the same Ceremony; (for neither was the Blood sprinkl'd upon the Doors of the Offerers; neither was the Lamb eaten with their Staves in their Hand, and in a travelling posture (c):) so it is not to be wonder'd if the succeeding Commemorations of our Lord's Sacrifice, tho' it was chiefly Expiatory, were *Eucharistical*, and differing also from the manner in which the first was celebrated by our Lord himself.

(c) Maim. *de Sacrif. Pasch.* cap. & sect. ult.

Now such a Change in the nature of the Commemoration, from that of the Original Sacrifice, tho' not express'd in the words of the Institution, may yet be the better admitted, if we find cause to suppose it; because our *Saviour*, instituting the Memorial of the Action, before it was *done* by himself, or so much as *understood* by the *Apostles*, may therefore be presum'd, neither to have held

held his Supper exactly and altogether in the same manner in which that Sacrament was afterwards to be, nor clearly to have express'd its Nature; but to have left the more particular Directions for it, and Explanation of it, to the supervening Instructions of the Holy Spirit.

Tho' therefore the Lord's Supper was erected out of a Paschal Supper; yet the *Apostles*, as it has appear'd, did not understand it to be confin'd to that time of the year only, or to the use of Unleaven'd Bread; neither did they think their Duty discharg'd by an Annual Celebration of it. And so, in the judgment of their Disciples, the Christians of the next Generation, it is still more manifest, that the one Supper succeeded the other, not in its strict, but in its general nature, and as it was of the Eucharistical kind; a solemn Festival kept in Thanks for a great Deliverance, and for a most beneficial and gracious Covenant: that as our Deliverance was not Temporary, belonging to the present Age only, and from an Enemy once slain, but was to extend to each Person of all Generations to

come,

come, and to be perpetually afforded against our continual spiritual Enemies; so neither should its Recognition be restrain'd to one Season, but offer'd unto our God throughout the whole Year, as the *Sacrifices of Praise and Thanks* were us'd to be offer'd by the *Jews* with very frequent and solemn Devotion.

This therefore seems to have been the Construction of the Primitive Christians, That the *Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood* answer'd to the Jewish *Sacrifices of Thanks:* and that this Correspondence may the better appear, we shall do well to recollect a little the nature and manner of such Oblations.

§. III. THE nature of a *Peace-Offering* in general is well known. It was the Oblation of a Sacrifice, some certain parts of which were burnt on the Altar, others belong'd to the Priests, and the rest was return'd to be eaten by the Offerer. To this Sacrifice a Meat-offering and Drink-offering were join'd: and by it the Offerer pray'd for future Prosperity, or thank'd for that he

enjoy'd (*a*). In the more solemn kind of *Peace-offerings*, that of *Thanks*, the Bread of the Meat-offering is expresly requir'd and particulariz'd (*b*); and it consisted half of Unleaven'd and half of Leaven'd Bread; (tho' Leaven (*c*) was not so grateful to the Altar, as ever to be offer'd for a Meat-offering upon it). The Unleaven'd half was made into thirty Cakes, each ten dress'd a several way, and the Leaven'd half into ten: The tenth of all, that is, four Cakes of the several sorts, together with the Breast and Shoulder, and Inwards, were wav'd by the *Priest* in the Hands of the Offerer before the Lord. Of that Bread so wav'd some was burnt on the Altar with the Inwards; and the rest, with the Breast and Shoulder, (all which together was call'd *Muram* the Separated or Elevated (*c* 2) Portion) remain'd to be eat by the *Priest*, and his Domesticks, who joyn'd his Thanks to God with the Offerers; while He likewise and his Family, and Friends, feasted before God on the other Nine parts with the Flesh of the Sacrifice remaining to him; Portions of which he sent too abroad;

(*a*) *Abarbân. Exordium Com in Levit. Edente de Viel.* p. 330 332.

(*b*) Lev. 7. 13. Maim. *de Cult. Div.* Tr. 5. cap. 9. §. 17, 18.

(*c*) Lev. 2. 11. Maim. *de Cult. Div.* 4. 5. 1.

(*c*2) Maim. *ut supra* §. 12. *Rab. Sal. in* Exod. 29. 27.

abroad, to his Acquaintance, and to the Poor.

Now, this Bread so offer'd being very singular for a Sacrifice, by reason part of it was Leaven'd, was particularly call'd the *Bread of Thanksgiving* (*d*), and in one case, recorded in Scripture (*e*), the *Bread* is suppos'd by the *Jews* to have stood for the Living Sacrifice, and to have supply'd its place. And besides, it is there conceiv'd, that *Leaven'd Bread* alone was us'd, as being the principal part of the Eucharistical Offering, and fittest to represent the whole.

Now the great *Entertainments*, as was now said, of the *Jews* were made of their *Peace-offerings*: on those they feasted together with their Friends at home, and of those they made Presents to the absent. The Invitation the False Woman makes to the Young-Man in the *Proverbs* (*f*) is, That she has a *Peace-offering at home*. And with his *Sacrifice Jethro* entertain'd *Aaron* and the Elders of *Israel*, who *eat Bread with him before God* (*g*). And so *Solomon*, at the dedication of the Temple, feasted the whole People with those

(*f*) Prov. 7. 14.

(*g*) R. Sal. & Aben Ezra, on Ex. 18. 12.

many *thousands of Sheep and Oxen* which he *offer'd to the Lord* (*h*).

(*h*) 1 Kin. 8. 63.

These Feasts, after the building of the Temple, were necessarily held at *Jerusalem*, and not elsewhere. But it may be rationally suppos'd, and I propose it conjecturally (as I before have offer'd a like guess concerning the Passover (*i*)), that the *Jews* of remote dispersions, standing the Temple, (for under its destruction they are not to rejoyce) did heretofore, upon glad occasions, tho' they would not pretend to the formality of an Eucharistical Supper, yet make some such Festival Entertainments, to which they call'd their Friends, to rejoyce with them before God; giving him Thanks, not only for what they then eat and drank, but mentioning at the same time his other gracious Favours, which had been the cause of their present meeting, and which they recognis'd in proper Benedictions and Hymns over the Bread and Wine. And Bread and Wine I therefore suppose to have been us'd in this Case, for the expression of their Thanks, not only because we find that the Leaven'd Eucharistical Bread did

(*i*) Ch. 3. §. 1.

did in the above-alledg'd case stand for the whole Sacrifice, or that some part of the Unleaven'd Paschal Bread does now represent the Flesh of the Lamb (*k*), or that in *Jethro*'s Sacrificial Feast the *eating of Bread* is particularly mention'd, or lastly, that *Bread* and *Wine* were given in the High Priest *Melchisedeck*'s entertainment of *Abraham*, which in probability was Eucharistical for his Victory; but because those Creatures of God are still taken by the *Jews* in all their Repasts for a special occasion of his Honour and Worship, as we might have observ'd before, and shall straight see further.

Such Entertainments of which we have been speaking, especially those of *Jerusalem*, were, we doubt not, very solemn, being dedicated to the honour of God: and tho' the particular Ceremonies are not told us, yet how those Feasts were kept we may well enough conjecture, from the description we have already (*l*) given of a *Paschal*, compar'd with this that follows of an *Ordinary Supper*.

(*l*) The same §. as afore.

At an *ordinary Meal*, where there are more than three, the *Priest*, or *Rabbin*, or *Chief Person*, takes the *Bread*, half cuts it, and blesses it, *lifting it up* at the Name of God; then eats a piece of it himself, giving likewise to the rest who eat also. After he takes the *Cup*, and the rest having their Cups likewise, he elevating the Wine, says the *Benediction* over it, and they all drink: And so, when he has said the 23d *Psalm*, they proceed to eat and drink as they please. And when they have done, the principal person, and the others, take again their Cups in their Hands; and after he has given Thanks and pray'd, they all drink and conclude (*m*). The *Jews* have too a more solemn Meal, the *Supper of the Sabbath Eve*, but little differing from the other; only here, because they then begin the Sabbath; and such separations of Initiatory Dedications, as well as Conclusional *Separations*, are *made with Wine*; they therefore invert the Order, and the Master or *Rabbin* first takes the Cup, repeating the first Verses of the second Chapter of *Genesis*, and saying over it a *Benediction* pro-

(*m*) Buxt. *Syn. Jud. cap.* 12.

Proper for the Sabbath, which then begins; and after that uncovering the *Bread*, (which was cover'd as if it had not been there when the Cup was taken first, and which consists of two Loaves) he blesses it in the ordinary form, *&c.* (*n*).

(*n*) Ibid. cap. 15.

Now hence, as we may by comparing discover what the additional Ceremonies were in the *Paschal Supper*, above those of any more ordinary Meal; so something between those we may judge to have been us'd in the other Peace-offering Feasts, and particularly the Eucharistical. As for instance we may presume, that the *Bread and Wine* of a *Thanksgiving* were taken and elevated by the *Priest*, or *Rabbin* if present, or by the Master of the Family, with some peculiar Benediction; to which might be subjoyn'd a proper Hymn: that when they eat, they both began the Meal with the *Flesh and Bread of the Sacrifice*; or at other times with a piece of the *Bread, representing the Sacrifice*; and also ended it: and that then, with some of that Wine, they gave Thanks, recontinuing

their Eucharistical Hymne, and so concluding.

At such Feasts some particular Ceremony they certainly had, and something like this in probability it was. It appears also, by the Divine Worship they pay at their less-solemn Repasts, that at these extraordinary ones their *Devotion* to God must have been as great as their Hospitality to Men. And if their common Tables are always esteem'd by them as Altars, particularly when after Meals they return Thanks, for then they remove their Knives from off them on that Consideration (*m*); we cannot think but that those Tables, then when they were furnish'd from the Altar, or imitated one so furnish'd, were judg'd more especially to represent it.

(*m*) Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* c. 12.

§. IV. SUCH were the Sacrifices and Feasts of Thanksgiving: and to these I suppose our Saviour had respect in the institution of his Feast, and was so understood by the *Apostles*, and by the *Christians* that immediately succeeded them. *That* it was so understood,

derſtood, and *How*, I am now going further to explain.

And firſt, That *the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* came into the place of a *Sacrifice of Thanks*; this may ſeem probable from ſeveral Conſiderations, to be ſuggeſted from what has been premis'd.

For, *1ſt*, the *Name* which the Ancients gave this Sacrament ſeems to ſpeak them of the ſame opinion. For they not only ſpeak of it as of a *Sacrifice* and *Oblation*, at large; but call it determinately and expreſly the *Euchariſt*, that is, the *Thanks* or *Praiſe-offering*, as by its proper Name: the *Sacramental Bread and Wine*, being as much known by that ſtile with Chriſtians, as the *Bread of the Euchariſt* or *Praiſe* was with the Jews (*a*).

(*a*) Maim. *loco proximè alleg.* §. 5.

2dly, The *Leaven'd* Bread they always choſe to uſe, as it evidently declares, that there was no further regard to the Paſchal Sacrifice; ſo it ſeems to import a juſt correſpondence with thoſe of the Euchariſtical kind, in which Leaven'd Bread was ſingularly requir'd.

And

And lastly, the *Bread*, which was to represent, and in some manner to become, *the Body* of our Lord, did not unfitly succeed in the place of that *Bread of Thanks* which had been made use of before to stand for the *Flesh of an Eucharistical Sacrifice*, and to make up the whole, even in *Jerusalem* it self; if it did not sometimes, in places more remote, according to the Conjecture now mention'd.

Now, as this Feast of our Lord *was* Eucharistical, so we suppose it was celebrated in a suitable *manner*.

The Bread and Wine chiefly design'd for the Holy Entertainment, being fitly provided and brought on the Table, some part of the Bread (and so of the Wine) was, I suppose, taken up by the President, or Chief of the company, (were he Apostle, Bishop, or Presbyter) and bless'd in an extraordinary form, expressing the reason of the Thanks then offer'd, together with a Prayer, that the Holy Ghost would sanctifie the Offering, (as Gifts brought to the Altar were esteem'd to be;) and sanctifie it particularly to that purpose for which it was prepar'd, that the

Bread

Bread might effectually repreſent the Fleſh, or Body, for which it ſtood. This Bread and Wine, ſo offer'd and bleſs'd by the officiating Preſident, (as if it had been wav'd at the Altar) was the more Holy and Sacramental Part, of which they communicated, as of the Body and Blood of the Lord; while the reſt of the Oblation, which was leſs holy, as being conſecrated only by vertue of the other, (like the remaining nine parts of the Bread of a Thanks-Offering) ſerv'd, together with other Proviſions, for the furniſhing of the Supper at which they then fed.

And ſo, when afterwards the Sacrament and Supper were divided, (about the time, I preſume, when the Legal Sacrifices were going to ceaſe) the Chriſtian Euchariſtical Oblation, as the Primitive Church ſpeaks, began then more diſtinctly to appear, and was made after Morning-Prayer, juſt as extraordinary Sacrifices with the *Jews* were offer'd after the Morning daily Sacrifice. And then, as under the Law, what of the Euchariſtical Sacrifice was offer'd at the Altar, the *Muram*, be-

long'd

long'd to the Priest: so that part which had been offer'd by the Christian *Priest*, being more especially sacred, and his Portion, was eaten in the Morning *Sacramentally* from his Hands; the Congregation being, as it were, his Family; while the other *Residual Part* was kept for the provision of the *Love-Feast*, to be held in the Evening, its accustom'd time.

Now as these solemn Suppers, call'd by the name of *Love* or *Charity*, were in imitation of those Sacrificial Feasts held by the *Jews*, so were they of a like *Name*. For, if those of the *Jews* were not stiled *Love-Feasts*, as possibly they might be, yet they were plainly *Peace-Feasts*, being made of Peace-Offerings of the most perfect kind, and being Symbols and Pledges of *Peace*, both in Heaven and Earth; the Offerer and his Guests partaking in some degree of the Table of God, and rejoycing together in mutual Good-will and Amity.

So did the Present partake of both parts of the Oblation in the Ancient Church, agreeably to the practice of the *Jews*. And when they sent *Portions*

tions to the Abſent, they acted likewiſe according to their Cuſtom. We know that the Lay-Jews ſent of their part (*b*); and I know not whether the *Prieſts* might not ſo do of their ſhare; neither is it much material. For, tho' the *Chriſtian*'s Euchariſt was an imitation of the *Jewiſh*, yet it was not neceſſary that it ſhould be bound to the niceneſs of all the *Moſaick Rules*.

(*b*) Neh. 8. 10.

Tho' therefore a Sacrifice, by *Moſes*'s Law, was not to be offer'd by night, as all legal Acts were to be done by the *Jews* in the day; and ſo the general practice of *Chriſtians* was to celebrate the Euchariſt in it: yet they might think themſelves at liberty to ſolemnize it before day, whenſoever any particular reaſon ſhould require them ſo to do; for to their Lord the Day and Night were both alike.

Likewiſe tho' the Euchariſtical Bread was no more to be kept till next day, than the Fleſh, by the *Jewiſh* Rituals, as being not to be niggardly ſav'd, but all of it ſpent that night in a cheerful liberality; and in this it was like their *Manna*: yet the Chriſtians might not think it unlawful in ſome

caſes

cases to suffer some part of their Eucharist to be left unto another day. For they had already invited all to their Feast who were capable of it; and they had not been sparing in their distribution, as far as was meet. However, even in this particular, they observ'd something of the Levitical Precept; burning still, what should remain at last unspent. And those of *Jerusalem*, if we understand their *Hesychius* (c) with some, kept very precisely to the Eucharistical Ordinance, burning all that was left of each day's Communion: as it is too order'd by our Church, to be immediately divided among the Communicants; a Rubrick intended to prevent the Papal Superstition, but answerable withal to the nature of the Sacrament.

(c) *Comm. in* Levit. 8. 3.

Now to all this I have nothing to add, but only to take notice, that the *mixture of Water* with the Sacramental Wine, of which the Ancients speak, was done too after the manner of the Jews; and, in their opinion, did not make it less proper for a Cup of Thanksgiving. For they likewise do not think (c) they celebrate their Paschal

(c) Maim. *de Solenn. Pasch. c.* 7. §. 9.

chal Supper duly with *pure Wine*, but mix it with Water; that they may the more freely drink the four Cups, and alſo for the better Taſt, and their greater Pleaſure.

§. V. IT ſufficiently appears, I preſume, that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord was underſtood by the ancient Chriſtians to be in the nature of an *Euchariſtical* (not of a *Propitiatory*) *Sacrifice* with the *Jews*. But further, That this kind of Sacrifice only ſhould remain, when all the reſt ſhould ceaſe; this alſo is conſonant to the Tradition of the Jews, as *Kimchi* tells us. For, upon this Saying of the Prophet (*a*), That *there ſhould be heard again in* Jeruſalem *the Voice of Joy, and the Voice of Gladneſs, the Voice of the Bridegroom, and the Voice of the Bride, the Voice of them that ſhall ſay, Praiſe the Lord of Hoſts, for the Lord is good, and his Mercy endureth for ever,* [*and*] *of them that ſhall bring* [*the Sacrifice of*] *Praiſe* [*or Thanks*] *into the Houſe of the Lord*: he comments on the laſt words in this manner; *The Prophet ſays not that they ſhall*

(*a*) Jer. 33. 11.

shall bring Sin-Offerings, or Trespass-Offerings; because in that day there would be no Wicked nor Sinners among them: for (as he before (b) told them) they should all know the Lord. And so have our Masters of blessed memory told us, That in the time to come all Sacrifices should cease, except the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving.

(c) Jer. 31. 34.

This Saying of the Masters of *Israel* is a great Truth, and better understood by Christians, who *know the Lord* and themselves so well, as to know, that the *Sacrifices for Sin* are not ceas'd by the ceasing of Sin, but superseded by the Sacrifice made for them by their *Lord* and *High-Priest*; and that the *Sacrifice of Thanksgiving* they are thenceforth to make, is the Commemoration their Lord has instituted, for that their most gracious Redemption. This is the Sacrifice of that *New Covenant* of which the Prophet there speaks, and which the Author of the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews* from him alledges (c). And to this Sacrifice the same Author, I suppose, refers; when he says (d), *We have an Altar, whereof they have no right to eat, who serve the Tabernacle*; for they eat not of the Oblation made for their

(c) Hebr. 8. 8.

(d) Hebr. 13. 10, 11, &c.

their Sins, as we do of our Blessed Saviour; *by whom* [by whose Body, and in whose Name] *we offer the Sacrifice of Praise* [Thanksgiving] *to God continually, that is the Fruit* [or Oblation] *of our Lips* [or which our Lips have Vowed to return, as well as what we do return with our Lips] *ceasing not to do Good, and to Distribute* [both out of our Oblations, and the rest of our Substance,] *for with such Sacrifices* [such Offerings of our Praise and Goods in the general, and at the Eucharist in particular,] *God is well pleased.*

§. I. *(d)* Of this I needed not have given an Instance; but there is one that will likewise serve to another purpose; De Coron. Cap. 3. *Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, & in tempore Victus, & Omnibus, mandatum à Domino, etiam Antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam Præsidentium, sumimus.*

(e) The word is often us'd even in one Chapter, the 34*th* of his Fourth Book *Adversus Hæres.* and I shall give but one Instance in that fam'd Passage: Ἀπὸ γῆς Ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος ἤδη οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' Εὐχαριστία ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα.

(f) Just. Mart. Apol. secunda (uti vulgo numeratur) prope finem. Οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν Διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι. Καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν Εὐχαριστία. Where Εὐχαριστία signifies the Oblation (ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐχαριστίας): as Ἀωρία and Πλημμύρεια likewise do.

(g) Examples will appear in those Passages to be produc'd in the next Chap. §. 2.

(i) Tertullian Apolog. Cap. 39. *Cœna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Id vocatur quod* Dilectio *penes Græcos.*

(k) Epist. ad Smyrnæos. After a general prohibition against the doing any thing in the Church without the Bishop, and after a particular mention of the Eucharist, there follows further, Οὐκ ἐξὸν ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε Ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.

(m) This Order of Oblation, and Invocation, is not only to be seen in the Antient Liturgies; but is plainly express'd by that Antient and Venerable Author *Irenæus*, in the Chapter above-cited *(e)*.

§. III. *(d)* לחם תודה. Maim. de Cult. Divino Tract. 5. 9. 5.

(e) Nehem. 12. 31. *Then I brought up the Princes of* Judah *upon the Wall, and appointed two great* [*Companies of them that gave*] *Thanks*, [*Whereof one*] *went upon the right hand of the Wall*, &c. By this Procession the Jews suppose the Bounds of the Holy City to have been determin'd; and that the *Bread of Thanksgiving*, which was not to be carried out of *Jerusalem*, was therefore carried about now to mark its utmost Limits. And accordingly by *two great Thanks*, as it is in the Text, [שתי תודות גדולות,] they understand *two great oblations of Bread of Thanks*: making the word תודה, which signifies the whole *Sacrifice of Thanks*, to stand here for the *Bread* only, and that only the *Leaven'd*. So *Rabbi Salom* on the place: And *Maim.* in the Book above mention'd. *Tract.* 1. *Cap.* 6. §. 12.

§. IV. *(a)* I confess that תודה in this Case, where we translate it a Sacrifice of *Thanksgiving*, is rendred most commonly in the Greek, of the *Septuagint* so call'd, by Αἴτεσις, and never by Εὐχαριστία. But it is notorious that the sence is the same. Neither do they always interpret that word by αἴτεσις, but on the same subject they once put χαρμοσύνη [*Levit.* 22. 29.] and in another place we shall meet in the next Section, [*Jerem.* 33. 11.] Δῶρον, a Name by which our Christian Sacrament is also known. The truth is, the word Εὐχαριστία is found in the Septuagint in no sense: but it is frequent in the *Apocrypha* and in the New Testament; and *Aquila* in his Translation [of *Amos* 4. 5.] uses it for this very matter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *The Distinction of* Clergy *and* Laiety, *specified by* Tertullian: *That of* Bishops, Priests, *and* Deacons, *by* Him, (Irenæus *also being his Leader, for the Apostolical Authority of Bishops;)*

§. II. *And by* Ignatius; *as the other at least, of the* Laiety *and* Clergy, *by St.* Clemens *of* Rome.

§. III. *The* First Distinction, *deriv'd from the Language of the* Old Testament: *The* Offices *of the* Second, *from those of the Jewish* Sanhedrim, *and likewise of the* Temple; *the* Upper parts *of our* Churches, *being also suppos'd to answer the* Temple Courts, *of the* Priests, *and the* Altar.

§. I. WE come next to the *Officers* of the Christian Church, expressed in the Scripture under general Names, and which answer'd sufficiently to those us'd by the Jews; but whose signification was not in some Cases so well distinguish'd, as to make out the Parallel exactly.

Now the Writings of the Primitive

Christians speak on these occasions more expressly, and clear up the Confusion caus'd by ambiguous words, determining their sense by such a distinction of Offices, as had all along obtain'd from the days of the Apostles.

Certain it is from what we have already seen of *Tertullian*, that in his time, at the end of the Second Century, the Offices of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, were the principal Offices of the Church, and notoriously Distinct. *The Power*, says he (*a*), *of Conferring Baptism the High Priest hath, who is the Bishop; then the Priests, and Deacons, but not without the Authority of the Bishop, to keep up the Honour of the Church, without which Peace cannot be preserv'd: otherwise even the Laiety have a power to do it.* Now, whatever becomes of the controversy of Baptism by *Lay* hands, it is manifest from our Author, that there was a Distinction of the *Laiety*, and the *Clergy* (*b*); and among the Clergy, between the *Bishop*, and the *Priests*, and *Deacons*; and that the *Bishop* had a singular *supereminent Authority* over the *Presbyters*, as well as the *Deacons*. And that he understood this separate Authority to have been deriv'd

(a) Ch. 6. §. 1. (c)

deriv'd from the hands of the Apostles, is as plain from his Treatise of *Prescribing against Hereticks* (c). There, to Bar some Heresies which were as old as the Apostles, from pleading that they were taught by the Apostles; he bids them, *Shew the Origine of their Churches, and deduce a series of their Bishops, with such a continued Succession from the beginning, as that the first Bishop of them may have some Apostle, or Apostolical Man who continued in the Communion of the Apostles, to vouch for his Author and Predecessor. For so the Apostolical Churches bring down their Pedegree: as the Church of* Smyrna *reckons* Polycarp, *placed there by St.* John, *and the Church of* Rome, Clemens *ordain'd by St.* Peter; *and as other Churches name those, who were made Bishops by the Apostles, and to whom the Seed of the Apostolical Doctrine was transmitted.*

(c) *De Præscr.* c. 32.

This is *Tertullian*'s Opinion: and, as it appears from his manner of delivering it, was the general acknowledg'd Opinion of that Time. But on the same Argument *Irenæus* had before said the same thing (d); where he names the Succession of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, down

(d) *Iren. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 3.

to *Eleutherius* of his own time, the *twelfth* from the Apostles; presupposing the same succession of such single Persons, in all the Apostolick Churches; and giving it as a *Truth* in matter of *Fact*, on which he might found the *Truth* of the Catholick *Doctrine*, and which the Hereticks themselves could not gainsay. This plain Testimony, of so Learn'd and Venerable a Person, at no longer a distance from the Apostles, seems unexceptionable: but for the Church of *Smyrna* it is absolutely Unquestionable. For there he speaks almost, from his own personal Knowledge; having himself been acquainted with *Polycarp*, who was immediately *ordain'd by the Apostles*. And as sure as this *Polycarp* was Bishop of *Smyrna*, so plain it is there that *Anicetus* was of *Rome* in his time: and from their very Conference together, reported by this *Irenæus*, (as we have seen (*e*)) it also evidently appears, that such Bishops had been always there presiding; of whom, we know, as many are mention'd in that place, on occasion of the Paschal Dispute, as reach'd up to the very beginning of the Second Century.

(*e*) Part 1. Ch. 1. §. 4.

Neither

Neither need I diſſemble, that thoſe *Biſhops* are ſtil'd *Presbyters* in the place laſt mention'd; ſince they are known to be *Presbyters* of the more eminent Degree, and to be the ſame ſingle Perſons, with the ſame ſuperiour Character, the ſame diſtinction ſtill remaining between them and the inferiour *Presbyters*.

§. II. I might well be content with the Evidence *Tertullian* and *Irenæus* give for the Apoſtolical Diſtinction between the Biſhop and the other Presbyters; and may therefore preſume, that what I have further to ſay of the ſame nature from *Ignatius*, will not fail to be credited. For how unreaſonable it is to ſuſpect his Writings, for the peculiar Dignity he attributes to Biſhops, (and that is the greateſt Argument of Suſpicion they have;) has already appear'd from the little I have produc'd: as the Reader may find both that and all the leſſer Cavils at large, and unanſwerably refuted by our Biſhop *Pearſon* (*a*).

(*a*) Vind. *Ignat.*

This *Ignatius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, being in his Journey through *Aſia* the leſs

to his Martyrdom at *Rome*, (about the year 116 at farthest (*b*)), wrote several Letters to the adjacent Cities, thanking the Churches there for their Christian Courtesie to him, which they had shew'd by their Messengers, and express'd by other Tokens of Fraternal Love; and taking at the same time occasion to make them some effectual return, and confirm them in the Faith and Discipline of Christ. These Letters (as all others, even the *Apostolical*) would be much better understood by us, if we distinctly knew the particular Circumstances of those Churches; to which, no doubt, he speaks very properly, tho' we now, out of the same words, can make but a general, and sometimes a very ordinary sence. But however something of the Circumstances of those Times, and of his Intention in those Letters, appears thro' them. And as his Design seems to be to fortifie them against the Fears of the present Persecution, and to warn them of the dangerous Heresies sprung from *Simon Magus*, and then prevailing; so he manifests a particular care against Schism, and for the preserving the

(*b*) *Dodw.* Diss. in *Ir.* 1. sect. 17.

Go-

Government of the Church. Before this time, the Divisions of the Church of *Corinth* about their Governors, had occasion'd a Letter from the Church of *Rome*, by *Clemens*'s Hand: and now in *Asia*, when St. *John* himself, the surviving Apostle, was dead, and the supreme controuling Authority was extinct; it is very likely that the Orders before establish'd were in some danger of being subverted, by the Ambition and Unruliness of such, whom the Spirit by St. *Paul* had expresly foretold to *Timothy* the Bishop of their capital City (*c*). Now, that such Attempts were then made upon the Authority of Church-Officers, and to the confusion of their Distinction, may be gather'd from this *Ignatius*: as it also appears from his manner of Expression, that such a Distinction was no novel thing, and of modern erection; nor was it of slight concern.

(*c*) 1 Tim. 4. 1.

In this view (as we may suppose) he tells the *Ephesians*, That *they ought to glorifie Jesus Christ, who had glorified them; to be of one mind, and to say the same thing; and to be subject to the Bishop and to the Presbytery, that they may be wholly sanctified.* You ought, says he,

to concur with your Bishop; as you do; for your Presbytery is as consonant to him, as strings to an Instrument. And let no Man be deceiv'd: he that is not within the Altar, falls short of the Bread of God: and he that does not come to the Assembly, is Proud; and it is written, God resisteth the Proud (d): Let us not then resist the Bishop, that we may be subject to God. And the more modest [and condescending] your Bishop is, the more he is to be reverenc'd: for he is to be look'd on, as the Lord himself. And lastly he speaks of *their Concurrence with Christ; that they may obey the Bishop, and the Presbytery, with an undistracted Mind; breaking [that] one Bread, which is the Medicine for Immortality, the Antidote against Death.*

This, it seems, was necessary to be said on this subject to the *Ephesians*: amongst whom, as amongst the other *Asiatick* Churches to whom he writes, the Peace of the Church, which St. *John*'s presence had hitherto secur'd, began to be disturb'd. Whereas therefore, in his letter to the *Roman* Church, whose zeal in this case was so well known, he makes no mention of their obedience to spiritual Governours: in all

all his other letters to the *Asiaticks*, he enlarges much on the same Topick; and was, it seems, oblig'd to press that Duty even upon the *Smyrneans*, where *Polycarp* himself was Bishop. He does it after this manner. *Fly Divisions, as the beginning* [*or cause*] *of Evils. All of you, follow the Bishop; as Christ Jesus, the Father: and follow the Presbytery, as the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons, as the Commandment* [*or Mandatories* (*e*)] *of God. Let no one do any thing appertaining to the Church, without the Bishop. Let that be esteem'd a good Eucharist, which is under the Administration of the Bishop, or such as He shall appoint. Where the Bishop appears, there let the People be: as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholick Church. It is not lawful without the Bishop, neither to Baptize, nor keep the Love-Feast; but what He approves, that is it which is acceptable to God.* So to the *Philadelphians*, after Exhortation to Unity under the Bishop, he adds: *Take care therefore to use one* Eucharist. *For there is one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, one Cup wherein his Blood is united, one Altar: as there is one Bishop, with the Presbytery, and my Fellow Servants the Deacons.* As also in that

that to the *Magnesians* he directs: *Endeavour to do all things in the Unanimity of God; the Bishop Presiding in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the Consistory* [Synedrium] *of the Apostles, and the Deacons being intrusted with the Ministry of Jesus Christ.* And speaking of *Deacons* to the *Trallians*, he says expresly, *they are not Ministers of Meats and Drinks; but Servants of the Church of God.*

I know well that these now Unusual expressions, and High Comparisons, have been construed into a prejudice against the Authority of these Letters. But it is not reasonable, to judge either Antient Practice, or Phrase, by the Modern: for possibly those Primitive Christians would be at as great a loss to understand some later Divinity. The Passage that may appear the most strange, is that to the *Smyrneans*: *Follow your Bishop, as Christ Jesus* [*followed*] *the Father.* But we are to remember that the Hereticks, whom he warns them to avoid, were those who deny'd the *reality of our Saviour's Flesh*, saying, that He *Suffer'd*, and *Rose* again in *Appearance* only; themselves also dispensing with the *Reality of their Duty*, as

as he tells them, and being *Christians* only *in Appearance*, *High-minded and puffed up*. These he Commands them to avoid: and, for the same intent, he cautions them to *shun Divisions* among themselves, as *the beginning of* those and most other *evils*; and *to Follow the Bishop* (*Polycarp*, a Faithful Servant of Christ, Approv'd and intrusted with the Charge of them by the Blessed St. *John*); adding, *as Christ Jesus, the Father*; a comparison that no more equals the *Bishop* to the *Father*, than it does the other *Christians* of that Church to *Jesus Christ*. It imported only, that they should not be high-minded and conceited, but should be subject to their Bishop; for *Christ* also himself was in *reality* found in *the form of a Servant*, and *obedient unto the Father even unto the Death of the Cross*: and that they should receive the Commandments from *Polycarp*; and act, as they saw him to act; for (as St. *John* lately departed from them had inform'd them) Christ also did or spoke (*d*) nothing from himself, and he both Taught and kept the Commandments of the Father (*e*). This seems to be the occasional Analogy of that

(*d*) 8. 28. 12. 49.
(*e*) 15. 10.

that Expression. And as for the others, that the Bishop *presides in the place of God*, or is to be *look'd on as our Lord*; these speak him only as a Substitute and lower Representative of God and Christ, invested with some degree of Authority from them; as when St. *Paul* Commands Christian *Servants* to *obey* even Heathen *Masters* as *Christ* (*f*): neither were the *Presbyters* to be follow'd *as the Apostles*, for the Parity they held, but for the similitude they bore, being Assistants to the Bishop, as the Apostles were to our Saviour. For so was *Moses* heretofore put in the place of God (*g*): and as in *Ignatius* the *Presbyters* are said to *preside in the place of the Consistory, or Sanhedrim of the Apostles*; so the *Apostles* themselves may be suppos'd to succeed in the place of the *Twelve Princes*, the Chief Assistants to *Moses*. Neither has this Language of *Ignatius* to Christians any other meaning, than it might have had, if a *Jew* should have admonish'd his Brethren *Jews*, to have obey'd their *Nasi* or *Patriarch* as God (for so they were to have obey'd *Moses* their first *Nasi*;) and *his Assessors*, as they would have

(*f*) Eph. 6. 5.

(*g*) Exod. 7. 1.

have done the *Assessors of Moses*, (for to those in some manner they succeeded.)

Thus *Ignatius* concerning Church Officers. And to go higher yet, up into the first Age; (for then St. *Clemens* of *Rome* undoubtedly wrote his Epistle, if not before the Destruction of the Temple *(h)*;) there, if we have not an Authority for the Distinction of them by proper names one from another; yet we have a certain instance of the use of the word *Lay* before mention'd, whereby they were discriminated from the rest of the Congregation. The place, whether speaking of the Jewish, or of the Christian Church, (and of the Christian in likelyhood it does) runs thus (*i*). *To the High-Priest, proper Offices are given; and to the Priests, a proper Place is appointed; and on the Levites, proper Ministries are incumbent: The Layman, is bound to Lay Duty. Let every one of you, Brethren, in his own Station, give Thanks* [or *celebrate the Eucharist*] *to God, having a Good Conscience, and not transgressing the Rule of his own Office*, [*as he ought to do*] *in Holy Decency.*

§. III.

§. III. This was the certain Distinction in the Antient Church, betwixt the *Laiety*, and the *Clergy*; and among the Clergy, betwixt the *Bishops*, *Priests* and *Deacons*: and that it was deriv'd from the Language and Polity of the Jews, we may have already discern'd in part from the account above given (a).

(a) Ch. 4.

As to the Denomination of *Laiety*, as distinct from the Tribe of *Levi*, it must be directly understood to have been in use with the Jews, by those who will understand the passage from St. *Clemens* last cited, concerning the *Jewish* Priesthood. And those too who will have it taken of the *Christian* Priesthood must conclude, from the ordinary and current manner of using this Phrase in the beginning of Christianity, that it had been receiv'd before, and was as well known, as that of *Priest* and *Levite*.

But besides, the Ground also of this Appellation is from the Old Testament. For there, as the Nation of the *Israelites* is contradistinguish'd to other Nations, and is separated for the Peculiar Pro-

Propriety (*a* 2), and *Inheritance*, (*b*), of God; (the ſignification of the Greek word *Clerus*;) and they might all therefore have been properly ſtil'd the *Clergy* of God, in reſpect of other *People*; (the meaning of the word *Lay*;) for in that regard they all are call'd *Prieſts* (*c*): So in this Holy Nation, one Tribe of it was more particularly *Choſen*, and Holy and ſeparated from the reſt; (God not only claiming them to be *his Own* yet more Peculiarly, and in the place of the *Firſt Born* (*d*), but declaring *Himſelf* alſo to be their Peculiar and *Inheritance* (*e*);) and might well therefore have been appropriately ſtil'd the *Clergy*, even in reſpect of the reſt of the *Holy People*, who were then, for diſtinction to be call'd the *People*. Neither was this term, the *People*, at all diſhonourable to the other Tribes; for it appears, by the Phraſe of St. *Luke* (*f*), to have been the name whereby they choſe to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the *Gentiles*, [or *Nations*]: and the diſparaging acception which the *Phariſaical Rabbins* give it, when they oppoſe it to the *Diſciples of the Learn'd*, and make it to ſignify the *Illiterate* and

(*a* 2) Ex. 19. 5. Deut. 14. 2.
(*b*) Deut. 4. 20.
(*c*) Exod. 19. 6.
(*d*) Numb. 3. 45.
(*e*) Num. 18. 20.
(*f*) Acts 26. 17, 23.

Rude; seems to be rais'd by them for their own honour, since they have come in to the room of the Priests, and usurp'd their Privilege (g).

(g) See Ch. 4. §. 4.

Next I am come to compare the several *Officers* of the *Christian Church*, so distinguish'd as above, with the several Officers of the Jewish. But in this, as for the Synagogue-Discipline, and Worship, of the Jews, I am prevented by what has been said before: and the Parallel must have manifestly appear'd betwixt the *Bishop*, *Priest*, and *Deacon*; and between the *Chief* of the *Sanhedrim* or *Synagogue*, the *Elders*, and their *Ministerial Officers*.

For as every *City* had its *Consistory* in that manner Officer'd, with the Jews, so had it with the Christians; though with no Subordination to any other higher Court, as at *Jerusalem*; in as much as that Local Dependance was now abolish'd.

The *Chief* of the Consistory with the Jews, was either the *Prince*; or his *Deputy*, the *Father* of the Assembly. Now the Title of *Prince* was, I suppose, in the Christian Church, every where appropriated to *Christ*: and the *Bishop* was

was as the *Father*, in whom the Principal Directive Power was lodged. The other *Elders* were his Councellors and Assistants, in the Governing and Teaching of the Assembly; and the *Deacons* had the management of Affairs, Execution of Orders, and Distribution of Alms, belonging to their part; as is notoriously known.

Thus was a Christian Church govern'd conformably to the *Synagogue*, as a *Society*; it was likewise, as a *Congregation*. The *Instruction* and *Exhortation* belong'd to the *Bishop*; or else, by his leave, to the *Presbyters*: or it was perform'd by such other proper Person, as the Bishop should appoint. Likewise *Prayers* were said, either by the *Bishop*, or *Presbyters*; or else by the *Deacons*. For these last, answering the Jewish *Chazans*, directed the People in their Devotions; either repeating the Prayers before them, or calling upon them to hearken to those repeated by others: and also either Read the holy Scriptures, or assisted those who were to Read them.

Neither do the *Elders* of a *Christian* and a *Jewish* Church agree, only so far,

but farther yet. For as the *Jewish Elders*, since the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, have thought fit to assume to themselves much of the *Sacerdotal* Honour and Privilege: so have the *Christian* succeeded into the like Dignity, nay are call'd by the same Name; as we have seen in *Tertullian*'s expression, (*h*) *The High Priest who is the Bishop*; and as he phrases it, discoursing about those Hereticks, who making little distinction between the People and the Church Officers, committed *Sacerdotal* Offices to the *Laiety* (*i*); and as we may in general have collected, even from the discretive Appellatives themselves of *Laiety*, and *Clergy*.

(*h*) See Ch. 6. §. 1.

But the *Elders* of the *Christian* Church derive not those their style and Privileges from the Calamities of *Jerusalem*, and the Usurpation of the *Rabbins*: nor are they esteem'd *Priests*, in vertue of their *Presbytery*; though the English word *Priest* happens to come, by the French *Prestre*, from the Latin *Presbyter*. On the contrary, by Original appointment, a *Christian Priest* corresponds as directly to a *Priest* of the *Jews*, as a *Presbyter* does to their *Elder*:

der: or rather, to ſpeak more generally, the *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*, of the *Goſpel*, anſwer not more to the *Officers* of the *Sanhedrim*, or *Synagogue*; than they do to thoſe of the *Temple*, to the *High Prieſt*, or (as we conceive) his *Great Vicar*, to the *Prieſts*, and to the *Levites*.

For this is not only intimated by the *Sacerdotal* Titles the Governours of the Church immemorially had, as we learn'd from *Tertullian*; but plainly declar'd by their Office, and all along allow'd and own'd by more Antient Authors: They having, as hath appear'd, an *Euchariſtical Sacrifice* ſtill remaining to be celebrated by them; a Pure *Offering*, to be offer'd in every place; and every where *Holy Tables*, or *Altars*, erected for that Service. And this is what St. *Jerom* has ſaid, much to our purpoſe, in that Letter of his, which has been often miſcited to the Prejudice of Epiſcopacy *(k)*. *And*, ſays he, *that you may underſtand the Eccleſiaſtical Traditions to be deriv'd from the Old Teſtament; we are to know, what* Aaron, *and his Sons, were in the Temple, that Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, are to chal-*

(k) *Ad Evagr.*

lenge to themselves in the Church.

This Remembrance of St. *Jerome* was, we see, well founded: and is, if I mistake not, attested by the structure of an Antient Christian Church, such of which we have been speaking before (*l*). For, whereas the *first four Partitions* of it, wherein the *Laiety* were dispos'd; have been seen to answer to the *four first Courts* of the *Temple*, beyond which none but those of the *Tribe of Levi* ordinarily could go: there yet remain *two other Partitions*, the places heretofore of our *Clergy*; to answer to the *two* remaining *Courts*, of the *Priests*, and of the *Altar*.

(*l*) Ch. 6. §. 1, 3.

For so that part [E Fig. 2.] of a Christian Church, which is next beyond the Upper Place of the Faithful (now call'd the Quire) [D], and reaches to the Rails of the Altar space, stil'd by the Western Church *Presbyterium*, and by the Greek *Solea* (*m*) where the Readers are said to have had a place (*n*); corresponds aptly enough with the *Court* of the Temple, where the *Priests* stood who were not actually on Duty, and where the [*Doukans*] Desks of the Singers were likewise placed (*o*).

(*o*) *Lightf.* T. Service Ch. 23.

And

And then the Higher ſpace [F Fig. 2.] incloſed with Rails or Lattice, where the Lord's Table, or Chriſtian Altar [G] ſtands; apparently agrees to the Court of the Altar in the Temple [F. Fig. 1.], which was fenc'd in like manner. And poſſibly the rais'd Seat [T] behind the Altar, (as the Archiepiſcopal Chair at *Canterbury* now is,) where the Biſhop ſat, with the Chief of the Clergy on either ſide; anſwer, not only to the Seats of the Elders in a Synagogue (*p*), but to the Place, where the High Prieſt ſtood, *compaſſed with his Brethren round about, as a young Cedar in Libanus by the Palm Trees* (*q*); either at the Altar it ſelf; [G Fig. 1.] or in the Porch [H], which was as high, and from whence, after the Burning of the Incenſe, the Bleſſing was pronounc'd (*r*).

(*p*) Ch. 6. §. 3.

(*q*) Eccleſ. 50. 12.

(*r*) *Lightf.* Ib. Ch. 36. *Maim. de Cult. Div.* Tract. 6. Cap. 6. §. 4.

And this, concerning the Agreement of the upper part of a *Church*, with the upper Courts of the *Temple*, I have added on this Argument; not ſo much to confirm the *Sacerdotal* Title of Chriſtian Prieſts, (for that ſeems to be otherwiſe ſufficiently ſecur'd,) as to complete the Parallel, already begun in the *ſixth*

Chapter, and by which a new account is offer'd of the Modelling of these Christian Ædifices.

I know, *Architects* derive the Design of our Churches from the Fabricks of the Heathen *Basilicæ*, or Publick Halls (ſ): the upper end of which was rais'd, and had a *Semicircle*, in which Governours and Judges sat for Audience, having before them a *Table*, as we may presume, and a space separated and *Raild* in; and beyond that, without the *Bar*, a place something lower, where those stood who attended the Court: the remaining and lowest part of the Hall, being open to All; as there was commonly before it, a *Portico*, and a *Piazza*. Such Rooms as these Private Men also built in Great Houses; and being Christians, might lend to the use of Christian Assemblies: whence (as they say) it afterwards came that Churches were built in the same fashion, retaining also the Name [*Basilicæ*]. Now that those Halls might have sometimes, and somewhere, serv'd to that use; and were very convenient for it; may be granted: but as one cannot think that the Form of such a Hall,

(ſ) *Pallad.* lib. 4. c. 5. lib. 3. c. 19.

Hall, gave occaſion to the ſeveral Ranks and Offices of Chriſtians; ſo neither to the Building, which was to be ſuited to them. I ſhould rather ſuppoſe, that the Congruity of thoſe two ſorts of Ædifices was accidental, and that the name came from the ſimilitude. (*t*)

There are indeed others who take the Modules of our Churches from the Jews; but either from their *Synagogues*; or from the Temple-*Houſe*, conſiſting of the [H Fig. 1.] Porch, the Holy [I], and the Holy of Holies [K]. Whereas the *Synagogue* goes but half way, and neither now has, nor ever pretended to, an *Altar*: and the *Altar of Incenſe*, and *Table of Shewbread*, which were in the *Houſe*, were we know in the Outer Part, and not in the inmoſt, the Holy of Holies.

It appears therefore, that the *Temple*, as it conſiſted of its *ſeveral Courts*, was rather the Pattern which the *Chriſtians* follow'd for the Place of their Worſhip. For as for the Houſe; as it might before have been an Imitation of the *Heavens*, the *Holy of Holies*, repreſenting the *Third Heaven*: ſo now it might be ſuppos'd to be no longer on Earth, but

chang'd

chang'd into that *not made with Hands*, into which the *High Priest was now enter'd with his own Blood*, as the Author to the *Hebrews* observes (*u*); We all in the mean time waiting without, in expectation of his Return; and, until that his coming again, by his particular Command, continuing to celebrate the Joyful Memorial of that *Sacrifice*, with which he *Appears now in the presence of God for us*.

(*u*) Hebr. 9. 11, 12, 24.

But (to return to my Argument) whatever may become of the Conjecture concerning the Figure of our Churches, this is certain, by the express Declaration of the Scripture (*x*), that our Saviour Christ is the *High Priest* of our Profession: and in the Opinion of the Primitive Church, all the several *Bishops* seem to have been as so many *Sagans*, or Vicars of that High Priest, officiating at their several Altars with equal, and among themselves independant, Authority (*y*). Under His Direction, the *Presbyters*, are as *Priests*, assisting that their *Vice High Priest* in their several Stations: and the *Deacons* as *Levites*, attend and administer unto them.

(*x*) See Repart. 2. Ch. 2. §. 2.

So

So are our *Bishops* Representatives of our *Saviour*, either as he is our *Prince*, or our *Priest*; his Deputies, both in the *Synagogue*, and in the *Temple*. And thus as the *Fathers* of the *Consistories* with the Jews, the *Presidents* under the *Princes*, might have been properly enough stil'd by the Title signifying a *Bishop* or Superintendent: So we actually know, that the *Vice High Priest*, whom now the Jews call *Sagan*, was heretofore in the Old Testament express'd by that very name *(z)*.

(z) See Chap. 4. §. 3.

§. 1. *(b)* One Part of the Distinction the *Laici*, are specified in the place last cited: and the other the *Clerus*, containing the *Ordines Ecclesiastici*, is as expresly and familiarly mention'd in his Book *de Monog. cap.* 12. occurring very often in the compass of a few lines.

§. 2. *(d)* St. *Peter* argues in the same manner 1. 5. 5.

(e) Ὡς Θεοῦ Ἐντολῶ, *Mandatum*, it may be, in the sense of the Civil Law; and the Deacons here to be understood, as Mandataries, or Agents: for such they were to the Bishops, (*Const. Apost.* 2. 28.); and such Proctors the High Priest had, whom the Jews call Entelers, or Antalars, from the Greek, as may be seen at large in *Seld. de Synedr.* 2. 10. 7.

(h) According to Mr. *Dodwell*, *Dissert.* 2. *Cap.* 6. §. 24. *Libr. Posth. Cestriens. Episc. Pearsonii.*

(i) Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor. §. 40, 41. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι δεδοθῆναι εἰσί· καὶ τοῖς Ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται· καὶ Λευίταις ἴδιαι Διακονίαι ἐπιβέβηται. Ὁ Λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς Λαικοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται. Ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι Εὐχαριστείτω τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὡρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι.

§. 3.

§. 3. *(i) Tertull. De Præscr. Hær. Cap.* 41.——*hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus : nam & Laicis munera Sacerdotalia injungunt.*

(m) The Σωλεὰ, or Σολεὰ, &c. was the Place where the Communion was distributed to the Laiety; and from the Lord's Body being there on that occasion, *Goar* would have it call'd *Solium*; as others, from the Seat of the Emperour: but *Du Fresne* seems to have given a more probable Original of the word, *Constant. Chr. libr.* 3. *cap.* 73. *Solea*, says he, *à Solo, Pavimento Editiori: quippe apud Italos quicquid supra Pavimentum tantisper eminet, Soglia dicitur, uti apud Francos Seuil.* But *Solea* it self, in Latin, may possibly answer the signification; and that place, which is a little higher than the Quire, may be reputed the *Basis* of the *Bema*, its *Solea* or *Crepida*; as κρηπὶς, is expounded by ὑποβάθρα; and *Solea* in *Festus*, by *Materia Roborea, supra quam Paries Cratitius extruitur*: not to mention, that this place might be call'd *Solea*; as that in the Amphitheaters, next the Arena, was call'd *Podium*.

(n) This *Solea* is said, by *Sim. Thessal.* to be call'd Βῆμα Αναγνωστῶν, *Goar, Euch. pag.* 18.

(t) The word Βῆμα *Tribunal*, by which the Altar-space is call'd; and the *Cancelli*, and Vails or Curtains, by which it was separated from the rest of the Church; and also the *Candles*, and *Book* upon the Table; may indeed concur, to strengthen the Opinion I have oppos'd. But it may be consider'd, that Βῆμα it self in that sence, may well come from the Hebrew במה; and that therefore the Jews may be suppos'd to have us'd their בימה more willingly, and that the Christians took it from them. And so we know that, though the *Cancelli* and *Veiles* were us'd to inclose the Apartment of Secular Governours; yet Veils were us'd in the House of God, and that these *Cancelli* divided the Court of the Altar from that of the Priests. And lastly, whereas it is true, that the Furniture of the Table of the *Præfecti Prætorio* was a *Book* of his Office, standing up between *Candles on each side*, (as it is design'd in the *Notitia Imp.* of *Pancirollus*): it is also to be observ'd, that this Civil State was deriv'd from sacred Eastern Usage; that Candles were burnt before God in one part of the House, and the Law lodg'd in the other; and accordingly in the Jewish Synagogues their Repository of the Law has those Candles before it, and when the Law is brought out to be read, it is placed on a Table, that has a Cloth over it (*Buxt. Syn. Cap.* 14.); and that therefore our Christian Altar, instead of Fire which it needed not, might have those Lights continually

continually burning; and might withal be the sacred Table, on which the Word of God should be plac'd, that *Lamp unto our Feet and Light unto our Paths.*

(y) The Excellently Learn'd Mr. *Dodwell* (in his Book of *One Priest and One Altar*) differs not from what is here said. He puts indeed our Bishops in the place of the Jewish High Priests (*Ch.* 9.) but then he supposes those High Priests to have been the Representatives of the Λόγος, the High-High Priest (*Ch.* 8.) As therefore Bishops now are the Substitutes of our Lord; so they answer the old High Priest are such in some sense High Priests themselves: but as He has now been pleas'd openly to own, and to Execute, that Office; so they are thenceforth, in propriety of Speech, to forbear that title, and to own themselves for his Vicegerents and *Sagans.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

§. I. *The Sentence and Effects of* Excommunication *with* Christians, *as with* Jews: *and the* Relaxation *of it alike.*
§. II. *Their* Agreement, *in the estimate of the* Guilt of Sins; *and the appointments of* Penance.

§. I. *EXcommunication*, as we have seen (*a*), was with the *Jews* a Punishment with which their *Presbyterial* Authority was arm'd; and which besides, if it was not also decreed, was certainly Executed, by the *Sacerdotal*: and that Sentence, we must think, was then most valid and most effectual, when it was pass'd by both those Powers. Such an Excommunication we have seen too Directed, in the *New Testament*, and Executed, and afterwards Releas'd. And the same Jurisdiction, how it continued to be Exercis'd in the Church, we are now to consider.

(*a*) Ch. 5.

This Discipline then is well known to have been Executed in the Primitive Church, by the *Bishops* and *Priests*, with great severity; and to have been much

much dreaded by the Guilty. And the account of it we may take from *Tertullian*, as he describes it in his Apology (*b*). Being to justify the Christian Assemblies from the Imputation, put upon them, by the Imperial Officers, and common Opinion, of their being Unlawful Associations, and dangerous Conventicles, He says: *We are indeed a Corporation, embodied by our Agreement in the same Religion, and Obedience to the same Discipline; and are Confederate, by the same Hope. We Meet together; but it is before God. Him we surround with our Prayers, and as it were with our Numbers Force; but this is such a violence, as is acceptable unto Him. And then our Prayers are, for our Emperours, for their Officers, and such as are put in Authority. We meet; but it is to refresh our memory by Reading the Word of God---There too* (*c*) *is the place for Exhortation, and for Reproof; and there our Manners are Inspected and Censur'd, as it were by God himself. For Causes are there judg'd with great deliberation; as it is fit to be done by those who know, that they Judge in the Presence and sight of God: and if any one shall be found so Criminal, as to be Ex-*

(*b*) Ch. 39.

cluded

cluded from the Communion of our Prayers and Assemblies, and from the rest of our Holy Commerce; this Judgment so pass'd upon him, is taken for the Highest Presumption, that can be, of a like Judgment to come. Elders [or Governours] the best approv'd, Preside over us; such as have purchas'd the Honour, not by Money, but by their Deserts: for nothing belonging to God, is to be bought with Money.

By those who *Preside over us*, we are chiefly to understand the Bishop, and then the Presbyters, who are said above (*d*) in the language of *Ignatius* (to the *Magnesians*) to preside also. And likewise it appears manifestly, that the *Authority* by which they act, is not look'd on as founded, upon any *voluntary agreement* of the Fraternity, but upon the *Law of God*. Neither is it necessary that I should trouble the Reader with any further Proof from the Antients, either for the Immemorial Practice of Excommunication, or for the constant Presumption of its Authority from God.

(*d*) Ch. 8. §. 2.

Now a Person so ejected out of the Church, was either cast off Finally, without any hopes of Return; or he

was

FIG. I.

The *Temple* of *Jerusalem.*

aa The Space *without* the *Precinct* of the Temple.
AA The *1st* Court, or Court of the *Gentiles.*
BB The *2d* Court, or Alley.
CC The *3d* Court, of the *Women.*
c c c c c c } Their *Galleries* in that Court.
DD The *4th* Court, of the *Israelites.*
EE The *5th* of the *Priests.*
FF The *6th* of the *Altar.*
G The *Altar.*
H The *Porch.*
I The *Holy* Place. } of the *House.*
K The *Holy* of *Holies.* }
l m n o p The several *Gates*, or Entrances.

FIG. II.

A *Christian* [Greek] *Church.*

aa The *Area before* it, commonly Cloyster'd about.
AA The *First Porch*, or *Narthex.*
BB The *Inner Narthex*: in it,
r The *Font.*
CC The *Body* of the Church: in it,
c c c c c c } *Galleries* for *Women.*
S The old place of the *Ambo*; the Pulpit, or Desk.
DD The *Quire.*
Σ The Ambo *now*: if not supplied by *Analogia*, or Reading Desks, on either side.
EE The *Presbyterium*, or *Solea.*
FF The *Space* of the *Altar.*
G The *Altar*, or Holy Table.
T The *Bishops Throne*; with the adjoining Seats, for Bishops, or Presbyters.
l m n o p The *Entrances.*

FIG. III.

A *Synagogue.*

AA A, suppos'd, *Outer Porch.*
BB A, suppos'd, *Inner Partition.*
CC The *Body* of the Synagogue; with
tt *Apartments* for *Women*, on either hand.
S The *Bema*, or Pulpit.
DD The *Space* between the Pulpit, or Desk; and
p The *Repository* of the *Law.*
tt The [Antient] *Semicircle* for the *Presbyters.*
m The *Entrance.*

Fig. I.

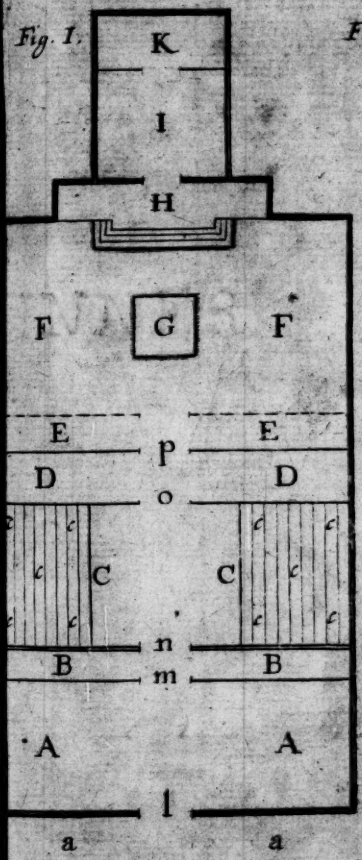


Fig. II.

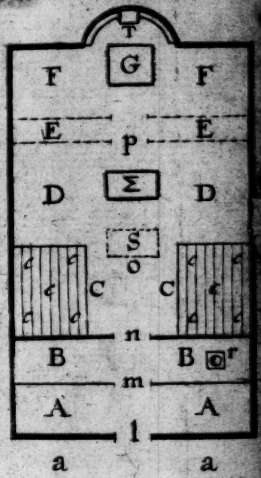
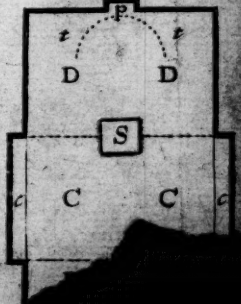


Fig. III.



place this after F

was in a Possibility of it: and of these some were not to be readmitted until they were in evident danger of Death, and after the Penance of their whole Lives; while others might have the favour of an earlier Reconciliation, who upon their earnest Intercession were restor'd, after some time of Penitence impos'd, and commonly by degrees. And for those degrees, I need not use any other Authority, than that we have already produc'd from the Synod of *Ancyra* (*e*). For thence we have perceiv'd, that the Readmission into the Church was usually perform'd by the same steps, by which the first Admission was made: and that one Ejected out of the Church, was first kept at the distance of a Heathen; then admitted, to be as an Auditor; afterwards as a *Catechumen*, or a nearer Candidate of Christianity; next as one Baptis'd, and who was allow'd to pray with them, but had not yet receiv'd the other Sacrament; until at last he was restor'd into Full and Intire Communion.

(*e*) Part 1. Ch. 6. §. 2.

And, agreeably to this, we have already seen, that Excommunication with the Jews was Lighter, or Heavier, and

differently Aggravated, as the Cause deserv'd (*f*). It has likewise appear'd probable, that the several Excommunicates may have lain under several Prohibitions, as to their Approach in the Synagogues or Temple (*g*). And since it has been shown, that the Jewish Proselytes enter'd into their Religion by the same Degrees, by which the Christians did (*h*): we cannot doubt, but those of them who had been solemnly excluded the Temple, ordinarily Re-enter'd it after the same manner, advancing successively thorough the several Courts, (as those did who had been under corporal Pollution,) according to the measure of their suppos'd Purification.

(*f*) Ch. 5. §. 1.

(*g*) Sect. 3.

(*h*) Ch. 6.

We have yet spoken only of the *spiritual* effect of Excommunication, and *Tertullian* mentions the Exclusion from all *Sacred Commerce* only: and this, no doubt, is the proper jurisdiction of that Presbyterial Authority, which pretends not to govern the Commerce or Negotiations of this World. But there can be no question, but that the Faithful always avoided any great Familiarity, or intimate Conversation, with the Excom-

Excommunicates; other than to Reform and Reconvert them. And this the Scripture it self seems to direct (*i*): and necessary it was, to the Humiliation and Mortification of the Criminal, and for the danger of others being corrupted by him: though the other common Entercourse, the Christians were to have with their Neighbours of all sorts, was to be regulated by the Policy of that Temporal Government, to which they belong'd. But, when the *Government* became *Christian*, as it thought fit to enlarge the proper Presbyterial Power with some new Jurisdiction, in things confining upon that Office; as in *Causes Testamentary* and *Matrimonial*: so it back'd their Excommunication, with civil Restraints and Penalties. And thence those who were under the Greater Excommunication, have been forbid all common Conversation, rendered uncapable of several Legal Benefits, and sometimes Imprison'd, or otherwise punish'd in Body or Estate: in all which proceedings the Patterns of the Jews, as is evident, has been much follow'd; as it seems to be, in the *Three Admonitions* before the Sen-

(*i*) 1 Cor. 5. 11.

tence, the consideration of the *contempt of the Court* on which it is founded, the pronouncing it by *Bell and Candle*, and Executing it even upon the *Dead (k)*.

(k) See Ch. 5. §. 1.

§. II. AND thus much may suffice at present for the correspondence of the *Sentence* and *Effect* of *Excommunication*, with the Jews; and with the Christians; but they also agree further, about the *Crimes* that are to be the *Cause* of it, and about the *means* of its *Absolution*.

The most *Grievous Crimes* in the judgment of the Antient Church, were *Idolatry*, *Adultery*, and *Murder*; as *Morinus* has demonstrated *(a)*. And that they are so estimated by the Jews, he has also sufficiently prov'd (*b*).

(a) Mor. de Pœn. lib. 5. cap. 1.
(b) Ibid Cap. 3.

And concerning Repentance and Expiation, or Abolition, of Sins; this is the Doctrine of the Rabbins, according to *Maimonides*. *The Guilt of the Transgression of an Affirmative Precept, or of a Sin of Omission, if it does not deserve Excommunication by their Law, (for Death it never does;) is Expiated by Repentance alone. The Guilt of the Transgression of a Negative Precept, or of a sin*

of

of Commission, if it deserves neither Death, nor Excommunication; is suspended by Repentance at present, and Expiated by the Day of Propitiation. And the Guilt of a Sin of Commission, to which Death or Excommunication is due, is suspended by Repentance, and by the Day of Expiation; and not Expiated, but by Afflictions. But the Guilt of the Profanation of the Name of God, is suspended by Repentance, the Day of Expiation, and Afflictions; and Expiated only by Death (c). Now Repentance is describ'd to consist of these Acts: (1.) *Forsaking the Sin in Deed, and in Thought; and Resolving within ourselves, never again to commit it:* (2.) *Grieving for it:* (3.) *Vowing to God against it: and* (4*thly*) *the Profession of all this with our Mouths;* (d) *with Confession, of sins against Men, before Men, satisfaction being made also* (e); *and of Sins done in private against God, before God alone* (f). *And therefore*, as he adds (g), *a Penitent is to cry day and night before God; to strive with Him, by Tears and Supplications; to Give Almes; to Avoid the Occasions or Opportunities of Sin; to change his Name, and his whole course of Life, and to go into Voluntary*

(c) Maim. de Pœnit. Cap. 1. §. 7, 8, 9.

(d) Cap. 2. §. 3.

(e) Sect. 11.

(f) Sect. 7.

(g) Sect. 5.

Banishment. And further he tells us (*h*), that *that all times are fit for Repentance, and Crying to God; but the most proper and acceptable Season, is the Propitiation Day, with the nine days before it.*

(*h*) Sect. 8.

This we have in general out of *Maimonides.* In the *Penitential Exscripts* at the end of *Morinus de Pœnit.* (*i*) there are further Directions for particular Cases; and some things thence it may be for our Use to observe.

(*i*) Pag. 151.

A *Murderer*, is to go into Banishment, or on Pilgrimage for three Years; to bear Forty stripes save one in every City to which he comes, and to say I am a Murderer: neither to eat Flesh, nor to drink Wine, except on Sabbaths and Holy-Days: Not to shave his Head, or Beard; or to wash his Cloths, or Body; nor so much as to comb his Hair above once a Month, or twice at most: To ty the Hand and Arm that did the Murder, in an Iron Chain to his Neck; and to go barefoot, and mourning for the Fact; if any one Reproaches him, to be silent; and those three Years, not to walk for Pleasure, nor to use any Recreation; and during

his

his Pilgrimage to lay himself at the door of the Synagogue, that they who go in and out may pass over him; (but they are not to tread upon him).

The *Adulterer* is to undergo Afflictions, as bitter as Death; (for he is, by the Law, Guilty of Death): for a Year not to eat Flesh, nor drink Wine, except, *&c.* every day, in the Winter, to sit in Snow or Ice for an hour, and in the Summer amidst Bees or Wasps; or (as it is in the other Penitential (*k*)) every day, that he suffers not from the Cold or Heat, to Fast, and to take nothing but Bread and Water in the Evening: every day to confess his Sins with Tears and Sighs; and to be beat with the 39 stripes; and to ly upon the Ground, or a Plank without straw, *&c.* except on Holy-Days; to wear Sackcloath also, and to lead a mournful Life, and to keep from all Conversation with Women. He also that is guilty of some other sorts of Uncleanness, is to Fast Forty Days continued (*l*); in them to use neither Flesh nor Wine, nor to take any thing warm, except on Sabbaths, *&c.*

(*k*) Page 157.

An *Idolater*, as soon as he Returns and Repents, is to wash himself, and to endure Afflictions and Tribulations, in proportion to his Crime. He is to put on Mourning; to weep and to afflict himself all the Days of his Life, making his Confession thrice every day; not to wash, *&c.* or to eat Flesh, *&c.* to be present at no Feast.

These are the most Criminal Cases: and I shall only observe, of the other there mention'd, what we saw in one instance above, that *Forty Days* are commonly specified for a more solemn Penitence, and injoin'd in almost all of them; as also in general, that the Penitent is suppos'd to be as a Mourner.

Now no one that reads these Penitential Injunctions, and knows any thing of the Practice of the Antient Church, but will easily discern the Correspondence. He will presently call to mind the severity of old, that was us'd especially to Adulterers, Murderers, and Relaps'd Idolaters; the Difficulty they found to be Restor'd, and the Long and Rigorous Penances they underwent: How they Lamented, and Mourn'd, and Prostrated them-

selves

ſelves before the Doors of the Churches, at the feet of the Brethren; ſome of them not re-admitted till after many years; others not Reconcil'd till the Point of Death; and ſome not at all, though left to the Mercy of God; paſſing their time in Faſting, and other Hardſhips, for the Humiliation of their Body and Spirit, and a teſtification of their ſorrow both before God and Men. So like in very many points, was the behaviour of Penitents, both in the Synagogue, and in the Church: not to mention Change, of Name, or courſe of Life; Pilgrimaging, Voluntary Baniſhment or Abjuration, eſpecially of Murderers; The tying up of their Arms in an Iron Chain; and ſuch kind of Practices, which were frequent in after Ages, and might have been ſometimes us'd before, though not then recorded.

But, for a general view of this Correſpondence of Practice in the Primitive Church, we need only to compare *Tertullian*'s Tract of *Penitence*; or but only to look back upon thoſe two Paſſages, already cited thence in the ſecond Chapter of the Firſt Part. And, as for

the

the Vertue assigned to all kind of Afflictions, we may find a suitable Opinion of them in *Hermas* the Antient Christian Writer. He is told by the Angel, that *he is Afflicted, to the end his Family may suffer and Repent:* and when he answers, that *behold they already Repent from the bottom of their Hearts;* the Angel replies, *I know they do. But doest thou think* (m) *that the Sins of those who Repent, are presently blotted out? No not so quickly. But he that is a Penitent, must Afflict his Soul; and behave himself Humbly, in all he has to do; and endure many, and grievous Vexations; and when he has suffer'd much, then God may have mercy on him.*

§. I. (c) *Ibidem etiam Exhortationes, Castigationes, & Censura Divina. Nam & Judicatur magno cum Pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumq; Futuri Judicii Præjudicium est, siquis ita deliquerit, ut à Communicatione Orationis, & Conventus, & omnis Sancti Commercii, relegetur. Præsident probati quiq; Seniores, Honorem istum non Pretio, sed Testimonio adepti; neq; enim pretio ulla res Dei constat.*

§. II. (l) *Morinus* his Translation agrees with the Printed Text, and makes the Forty Days to be discontinued. But it should seem, that they were intended to be continued, by the Prohibition that follows of not washing the while above Twice or Thrice; and that for אינם should be read אינין. However there is no need of this place, for an instance of such a Fast of Forty Days together; such a Penance being afterwards thrice injoin'd, in the same short Paragraph.

(m) Herm.

(m) Herm. Part. lib. 3. Sim. 7. *Numquid ergo, ait, protinus putas aboleri delicta illorum qui agunt Pœnitentiam? Non proinde continuò. Sed oportet eum qui agit Pœnitentiam, Affligere animam suam, & Humilem animo se præstare in omni negotio, & Vexationes multas variasq; perferre. Cumq; perpessus fuerit omnia quæ illi instituta sunt; tunc forsitan, qui eum creavit, & qui formavit Universa, commovebitur erga eum clementiâ suâ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

§. I. *A Parallel of Christian Rites mention'd by* Tertullian: *and*
§. II. *Of those Usages mention'd by* Origen, *particularly about* Prayer: (1.) Disposition of Mind. (2.) Posture of Body. (3.) Direction *of the* Face.
§. III. (4.) Times *of* Daily Prayer.
§. IV. (5.) Matter *and* Method.
§. V. *The Antient* Order *of* Christian *Prayer*,
§. VI. *And the* Order *of the* Jewish,
§. VII. *Compar'd.*
§. VIII. *A Parallel of some few other Usages.*

THE many Christian Ordinances which have already appear'd to be deriv'd from the Jews, may be more than were necessary to prepare the Reader for a like account of Lent. I shall therefore take leave to add only so much, as may be comprehended in this one Chapter more.

§. I. It is known from *Tertullian*, that the Antient Christians made frequent

quent use of the *sign of the Cross*: His words (*a*) are these: *When ever we Move and set forward on any action; when we Come in, and when we Go out; when we put on our Shoes, or Wash, or are at Table; when Candles are lighted; when we lye down, when we sit; whatsoever it be that we are doing; we still, as it were, wear away our Forehead by signing it with the Cross.* And we have already seen (*b*), that when this sign of the Cross was first made on the Forehead of a Christian Confirm'd, it might be well taken from a like Practice us'd in all Probability at the Confirmation of a Proselyte Jew, when the Priest mark'd him on the Forehead to God, and first put on that Frontlet [or *Tephillim*] between his Eyes; a Sacred dress, memorial to himself, and distinctive to others; which he was after to wear (when free from Impurity) before God, and Men; he being suppos'd by it to own God and his Law, and to be Arm'd and Warned against all Sin (*c*). Now the Christians, tho' they did not *dress* themselves with their badge of the Cross, yet upon all proper occasions, they repeated the Sign of it, for a Profession of their Faith, and

(*b*) Ch. 6. §. 5.

(*c*) *Buxt. Syn.* 9.

Remem-

Remembrance of their Duty; a *Sign* which they continued perpetually to make and *write* on themselves, *when they sat in the house, and when they walk'd by the way, when they lay down, and when they rose up* (d). This too they might use more particularly at those Actions *Tertullian* mentions: they being such as are always begun by the Jews with their Proper Benedictions (e); and were not, I suppose, undertook by those Primitive Christians without their peculiar Blessings; in a literal and explicite conformity to that reinforcement of the Jewish Usage by St. *Paul* (f), *whether ye Eat or Drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God.* And when such Acts of Devotion attended those ordinary actions, they did not only, in common form (of the Jews), require a *Sign* to accompany them; but they wanted the Christian Sign more especially, to shew in whose name they were offer'd; that another Direction (g) of the same Apostle might also be formally observ'd, *whatever ye do in Word or in Deed, do all in the Name of the Lord Jesus, giving Thanks to God, and the Father; by Him*; as has been long

(d) Deut. 6, 7, 8, 9.

(e) *Buxt. S. Jud.* Cap. 10.

(f) 1 Cor. 10. 31.

(g) Col. 3. 17.

long ago remark'd on another occasion.

2. The same *Tertullian* reckous up (*g* 2) another celebrated Christian Rite, for a Practice immemorial in his time; that they thought it a Fault to *Fast*, or to *pray Kneeling* on any *Sunday*, or on the *Fifty days* between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, all of them formerly Festival, as sacred to the Resurrection of our Lord, and the Promise of the Holy Ghost.

Now as the *Sabbath* of the *Jews* is chang'd into our *Lord's Day*, so was this Observation of it transfer'd too; for they think it by no means lawful to Fast on their Seventh Day; as it is absurd to Fast upon any Festival. For the same reason they kneel not neither at their Prayers on Sabbaths, and Holydays (*h*): *standing* with Them being the proper Posture of *ordinary Prayers*; and *Kneeling* or *Falling down*, of Afflictive *Humiliation*.

(*h*) *Maim. Libello de Prec.* Cap. 5. §. 15.

3. Whereas too the same Author mentions there (*i*) an Observation then Antient, concerning the *Bread* and Wine of their Ordinary Food; that they were very careful, that none of it should *fall upon the Ground*: this has

also

also been formerly suggested to be Jewish, for the Bread at least. For though the Jews, when they conclude the Sabbath, and separate it from the following Week, pour some of their Wine upon the Ground: yet to their Bread they preserve always a particular Respect; supposing an Angel deputed to watch the Negligence of those that let it fall to the ground, and foreboding Poverty to themselves from such an unhappy Accident (*k*).

(*k*) *Buxt. S. Jud.* c. 16.

4. Our *Author* in another place, in his *Treatise of Prayer* (*l*), makes mention of some Customs then observ'd at that Duty, which were apparently from the Jews. It was the usage of some he tells us, though he disapproves it, ( ) to *wash their hands* before Prayer: and so, it is known, the Jews are requir'd to do (*m*). 5. Others were us'd, when they had done *Prayers*, to *sit down* for a while (*n*): and for this they cited *Hermes* his *Pastor*, where he is said (*o*), when he *Prayed*, to have *sat down on the Bed*. The Argument *Tertullian* derides, and the Practice he takes to be *Ethnick*; but it seems rather to come from the *Jews*. For they are directed

(*l*) Cap. 11.

(*m*) *Maim. Ibid.* Cap. 4. §. 2, 3.

(*o*) *Hermæ Past.* Lib. 2. *in Proem.*

rected to sit a while after Prayers in Meditation and Devotion: and the Godly Men of old are rememberd to have pass'd one hour before Prayers, and another after, in that Posture (*p*). 6. So the custom, he taxes (*q*), of publishing their *Fasting* by their declining the fraternal *Kiss*, seems to speak them to have thought the time of Fasting to be a time of Mourning, and in which they were not to salute nor be saluted. 7. But where he finds fault with those that *pray'd too loud*, and advises to use a low Voice (*r*), he agrees with the Masters of the Jews; who order the Prayers to be said by each, but with a Voice audible only to his ownEars (*s*). 8. And when, speaking of the Christian manner of Lifting up their *Hands* at *Prayer*, he reproaches the Jews with the contrary Posture; as not daring to lift them up, imbrewed as they were with the blood of our Lord (*t*); he truly reports the present Jewish Custom, us'd (I suppose) since the Desolation of their Holy City, of holding their Hands down as well as their Eyes, and crossing them over their Breast (*u*): but it still remains unde-

(*p*) *Maim. ut supra.* Cap. 4. §. 16.

(*s*) *Maim. ibid.* Cap. 5. §. 9.

(*u*) *Maim. Cap. eodem* §. 3.

ny'd, that their Gesture was different before, and the same which the first Christians continued.

9. Lastly, What *Tertullian* in another place informs concerning the Devotion of *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, we have already seen *(x)* that it succeeded that of *Mundays* and *Thursdays*. 10. But what he intimates of *Praying towards the East (y)*, we are now going to consider; as it is, with other Rites, more expressly deliver'd in *Origen*.

(x) Part I. Ch. 4. §. 3.

§. II. This most Learned Christian Writer *Origen*, as he was very knowing in the Affairs of the Jews, to which others were great Strangers; so he seems to have some Respect to their Practice, though he would not vouch it for Authority, when he discourses in his *Treatise of Prayer*, concerning that Christian Office. There he proposes *(a)* to speak of the Requisites to it; the due *Disposition of Mind*, and *Posture of Body*, the *Place*, the *Direction of the Face*, and the *Time*; to which he afterwards adds the *Method and Parts* of it: such things as are us'd all of them to be consider'd on the same subject by the Masters of the Jews. And

(a) Orig. περὶ Εὐχῆς Oxon. pag. 127.

And *first* for their solemn Prayer, they strictly require a right Preparation and *Disposition of Mind*; that their Heart be free from the Thoughts and Cares of the World; and wholly Directed towards God: to which end they are order'd to sit some time before, (as has been now remark'd). And *Buxtorf* adds (*b*), that they are to enter into the Synagogue with Fear and Reverence, which they express in some words of the Psalms: and when they rise from their Seats, they *Bowing towards the Ark*, reinforce their Attention with a preparatory Prayer, and then begin.

(*b*) *Syn. Jud.* Cap. 10.

Secondly, As to the ordinary Figure and *Posture of the Body*, the Jews now also prescribe *standing* (*c*); and heretofore us'd (what *Origen* commends) the *Erection* of their *Hands* and *Eyes*, as we have now observ'd upon *Tertullian*.

(*c*) *Maim. de Prec.* 5. 2.

Thirdly, As *Origen* advises (*d*) that, even in a *Private House*, the *Room* chose for that Duty, should be none of those that serve for the less Honourable uses of the Family; such a Caution do the Jews likewise observe (*e*).

(*e*) *Maim. Ibid.* 4. 2.

(e 2) Orig. ut supra, p. 133.

Fourthly, When He directs (e 2) the *Face*, of the Person that Prays, *towards the East*, even *though* there should be *no Window* in the Room *on that side*; according to the antient Custom mention'd before him by his Master *Clemens Alexandrinus* (f), and by *Tertullian*, and which had obtain'd I presume from the Beginning of Christianity; being in their judgment countenanc'd by those Expressions of Scripture, that *our Saviour* was the *East*, (for so they understood what we render the *Branch* (g)); that He was the *Day-spring from on high that visited us* (h); and that hereafter *he shall come as the Lightning from the East* (i): in this also the Christians will be found to correspond with their Predecessors the Jews.

(f) Clem. Strom. 7. Edit. Paris. p. 724.

(g) Luke 1. 78.

(i) Matth. 24. 27.

For that they turn'd themselves to some one certain *Point*, was according to the Custom of the Jews: who are suppos'd (k), ever since the Erection of the *Sanctuary* by *Moses*, to have turn'd themselves towards it at their Prayers; and ever since the Building of the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*, have been oblig'd both to look towards that place, and if they are within Walls to

(k) Maim. de Prec. 1. 12.

to open a *Window* on that ſide (*l*).

The *Line* too in which the Chriſtians placed themſelves, that between the *Eaſt* and the *Weſt*, though it continued not to be the ſtanding line of Direction to the Jews in their Devotion, yet however it has been always eſteem'd Sacred with them, and in that Poſition ſome things therefore are not to be done by them (*m*): a Reſpect they give, as they ſay, by reaſon of the like ſituation of the Temple; if it was not rather for a much more antient reaſon.

Now in that *Line* it is not to be wonder'd, if we conſider not the worſhip of the Sun, that the place of his *Riſing* was always held the chieſeſt *Point*; and ſhould in the Primitive Languages be ſtyl'd the *Part* of the World *before* us, as moſt regarded; and that the *Northern* ſhould thence be call'd the *Left*, and the *Southward* the *Right* (*n*). But beſides this Natural conſideration, there ſeems alſo to have been ſome antient Religious Reſpect had to that Point, and that afterward the *Face* of the *Temple* was therefore turned that way. For the

(*l*) *Maim. Ibid. Cap.* 5. §. 3, 6.

(*m*) *Maim. de Cult. Div. Tract.* 1. *Cap.* 7. §. 9. *Buxt. S. Jud. Cap.* 8.

Jews themselves suppose, by Tradition, that *Adam* was formed by his Creator in that situation; and that his Eyes were first open'd towards the *East* (*o*). And as to the *Temple*, although the *Worshippers*, who stood before it, look'd towards the *West*, as those who yet were to see the *Dayspring from on High* by *Reflection* only from that Building; yet the *Temple* it self *fac'd* the *East*; as *directly* looking for Him, who was to come thence: and that way therefore might the *Christians* turn, as being themselves *Temples of God* (*p*), and professing *immediately* to expect his *Second Coming*.

(*p*) 1 Cor. 3. 16, 17.

§. III. *Fifthly*, The *Times of* Daily *Prayer* our Author had determin'd, in the former part of his Treatise (*a*), to be the *Morning* and *Evening*; and between them, *Midday*, and *Midnight*. In the *Morning* also the (so call'd) *Apostolical Constitutions* direct to assemble in the Church, before they go about any Business; and likewise to return in the *Evening* (*b*).

(*a*) Page 36.

(*b*) Lib. 2. Cap. 36, 59, 62.

Now the Jews also have their *Daily Prayers*, in the Place of their *Daily Sacri-*

Sacrifices (*c*). Their *Morning Prayers* take place from the time when the Sun is going to Rise, (for then they began their Morning Sacrifice (*d*)), to Ten of the Clock (*e*): and at those they all assist in the Synagogue, if they are not extraordinarily hinder'd, before they do any other Business. Their *Evening Prayer* may be said any time from half an hour past one; but ordinarily from half an hour past Three till Sun-set (*f*): in any of which hours the Daily Evening Sacrifice might have been offer'd (*g*). Besides these two *Daily Duties* of *Prayer Commanded* them, they have taken upon themselves to perform another in the *Night*, and in any hour of it (*h*); after the example of those Parts of the Sacrifices which were usually then Burning. And possibly because those Parts were not to be put on the Altar after *Midnight* (*i*) though they might continue afterwards to Burn, it might thence seem most fit, in strictness, at least to begin the Night Prayers at that time; as it was also the fittest hour, being at equal distance from the Last of the Evening Office, and First of the Morning; an hour too the far greater

(*c*) *Maim. de Pr.* 1, 5, 6, 7.

(*d*) *M. De Cult. Div. Tract.* 6. *c.* 1. §. 2.

(*e*) *De Prec.* 3. 1.

(*f*) *Ibid.* §. 2, 3, 4.

(*g*) *Cult.* 6. 1. 3.

(*h*) *Prec.* 3. 6, 7.

(*i*) *C. Div.* 6. 1. 5.

part of the Christian World would therefore also be more likely to observe, because it had been with them the Beginning of their Sacred and Civil Day, as we have learn'd heretofore from *Pliny* (*k*). Such are the constant Prayers of the whole People of *Israel* Thrice every day. On their Sabbaths and other Holy-Days, as they had *Additional Sacrifices* to be offer'd between those of the Morning and the Evening, so in their place there are *Additional Prayers* to be said, after the Morning, and before the Evening Prayer; but regularly not after One in the Afternoon (*l*). Now this Duty, though it obliged the Generality only on those Peculiar Days, yet it was every day repeated by the Representatives of the whole People the *Stationary* (*m*) *Men*, both in the Temple, and Distant Synagogues; and was attended with a solemn *Blessing* (*n*). And if we suppose it to be done by them at a Fixt time, no hour could be more proper for it than that of the *Mid-day*; a Cardinal time and equidistant from those two of the Sun-rising and Sun-set, about which times the same *Blessing* was likewise pro-

(*k*) See Part 1. Ch. 2. lit. k.

(*l*) *Maim. de Prec.* 3. 5.

(*m*) See Part 1. Ch. 2. lit. g.

(*n*) *Maim. de Cultu Div.* 2. 6. 4.

pronounc'd (*o*). And lastly to all this, said on the occasion of *Origen*'s assignation of time, I may add in reference to the Antient Christian Prayers, made when they began to Light Candles, and call'd thence *Lucernary*; that there was such an office with the Jews likewise, call'd the *Close*, from the shutting up of the Day and its Service; a kind of *Completory*, us'd by all of them on their Propitiation Day, and by the Stationary Men on every day (but the Sabbath Eve), at what time the Priests gave the Blessing also, as has been but now observ'd.

(*o*) *Maim. de Prec.* 14. 1.

§. IV. The *Matter*, and *Method*, *of Prayer* is the *Last* thing this Antient Writer considers: and he directs it, to consist *first* of *Doxology*, or Giving Glory and Praise; *Secondly*, Of Returning *Thanks*; *Thirdly*, Of *Confession of Sins*, with *Supplication for Grace and Pardon*; *Fourthly*, Of *Intercession for greater Favours*: and *lastly* to conclude with a *Doxology* again (*a*). It is too observable that, where St. *Paul* exhorts that *Supplications*, *Prayers*, *Intercessions*,

(*a*) *Orig.* Περὶ Εὐχῆς pag. 134.

tercessions, and Thanksgiving, be made for all men (*b*); our Author distinguishes the three first sorts of Prayers in this manner: a *Supplication* he understands to be an Humbler Petition, begging the Relief of our Necessities; *Prayer*, strictly so called to be an Address to God, speaking his Glory, and without Dejection of Mind, Desiring his Favour; and *Intercession* to be that, which is made with yet a greater Degree of Assurance and Holy Confidence (*c*). Now, as this latter Explication may interpret what he means in the third and fourth Member of the matter of Prayer: so it gives a sense to the Apostles words, which may make those *four sorts of Prayer*, made for our selves and others, to agree with the four sorts of *Sacrifices*, us'd to be offer'd for that purpose. For so *Supplication* answers a *Sacrifice for Sins* or *Trespasses*, by the Remission of which Relief was to be procur'd: *Prayer*, the *Burnt-Offerings*, which were chiefly meant to God's Honour, and also besought his Favour: *Intercession*, the *Peace-Offerings*, which were join'd with Requests, put up with some kind of Communication and

(*b*) 1 Tim. 2. 1.

and Familiarity: and lastly, *Thanksgivings* agree plainly with the *Sacrifices of that Name.*

The Constituent *Parts* of Prayer are no doubt very rightly assign'd by *Origen*: but as for the *Order* and Method of them, it seems, by his expression, to be rather what he thought fit for private Composure; than what was observ'd in the service of the Church, or even in our *Lord's Prayer*, upon which he there Comments. For our surer information therefore on this subject, it may be best to have recourse to other Authors.

§. V. NOW the Offices of Publick Devotion for the Lord's Day Morning, are summarily represented by *Justin Martyr* (*a*), as perform'd in this *Order*: that first they *Read* [the Scriptures of both Testaments] the *Writings of the Apostles and Prophets*; that then there was an *Exhortation* made; that after they *Rose up and Prayed*; and lastly, that they made the *Oblation*, and Receiv'd the *Eucharist*. This is that Apologists short account to the Emperour, that the Heathens might know

in

in general how Innocently the Christian Assemblies were imploy'd. *Tertullian* (*b*) from another Occasion accidentally falls upon a very cursory mention of the former of the same Offices, interposing another: remembring the *Reading* of the *Scriptures*, the *Singing of Psalms*, the making of a *Discourse*, and the Putting up of *Prayers*. And this Office of *Psalmody*, though for brevity omitted by *Justin*, yet questionless was as antient as the other: and is too recounted by the *Author of the Apostolick Constitutions*, in the same method, after the Lections, and before the Sermon (*c*). He also in a following Chapter (*d*) gives a larger description of the whole Service, after this manner. A Reader first is directed, standing in the *Ambo*, or Desk, to read some *Lessons* out of the *Old Testament*: Another then chants the *Psalms of David*, the People also chanting in their Turns: after *Lessons* follow, out of the *Acts*, and *Epistles*: then the *Gospel* is read by a Priest or a Deacon, all standing: and afterwards the *Exhortation* is made by the Priests and the Bishop. This being done, and the *Catechumens*, *&c.* dismiss'd,

(*c*) Lib. 2. Cap. 54.
(*d*) Cap. 57.

miss'd, the *Faithful* turning towards the East, *join in Prayer*: and then, after that, the *Oblation* began, and other *Prayers* were made; and lastly, the *Eucharist* was celebrated. So do these *Constitutions*, giving a true account of Antient Practice, though under suppos'd names, represent the *Psalmody* to be perform'd most of it together; as it stood, until in the Fourth Century it was order'd by the *Council* of *Laodicea* (*e*) to be more intermixt with *Lessons*, that the Attention of the Congregation might be the better refresh'd and secur'd by that variety.

(*e*) Can. 17.

This was the Primitive *Order* of the Christian *Liturgy*, according to the General Descriptions we have of it: for as to the lesser particulars, many, no doubt, there were; and some of them, such as we find in the *Liturgies*, going under the names of St. *James*, St. *Chrysostom*, &c.

§. VI. NOW the *Jews* have their *Liturgy* too: and their *Morning* Devotions consist of several *Offices* (*a*). And here first I may mention those occasional *Benedictions* they are suppos'd to have

(*a*) *Maim. De Proc. Cap.* 7. --17.

have made daily upon their *Waking*, *Hearing the Cock Crow*, *Putting on their Cloths*, &c. such as we intimated above, and three and twenty of which they are directed to pronounce constantly every day, and which run in this form; *Blessed* art [or be] *thou*, *O Lord our God*; *the King of the World, who clothest the naked*, if they are putting on their Cloths; or if they are covering their Heads, *who crownest Israel with Honour*; or if they are tying their Girdle, *who Girdest Israel with Strength*. But besides these *Benedictions*, which are to be said apart, and on their proper occasions only (*b*), though some Synagogues are us'd to repeat them together as an Office; the next stated Duty is that of *Reading* some part of the *Law*, Written or Oral, to which every one is every day oblig'd: and this Duty, as all others, is still to be prefaced and concluded with its proper Prayers or Benedictions; of which *Prefatory Benedictions* the first for Example is this, *Blessed is the Lord*, &c. *who hath sanctified us with his Precepts, and hath commanded us to study the Law*. This office is not only Private, but publickly also discharg'd in

(*b*) Ibid. §. 7.

in the Synagogue, and read there. Next to it is the Duty of *Repeating* the *Psalms*: which has to it Benedictions, with which it begins and ends. And this Duty is so acceptable, that the Practice of some is recommended, who have daily repeated the whole Book: however the Synagogue every day say over some Psalms, and especially on their Sabbaths and other Great Days, to which also they generally add some Verses of the Bible, that are chiefly *Laudatory*; as in some places the custom is to conclude with the *Song* at the *Red Sea*, or with that of the 32*d* Chapter of *Deuteronomy* (*c*). For it is in general to be noted, that in several places the usages are various, as to the choice of the Sections, and Psalms, and Hymns. After this Duty there follows another, of *Repeating* the Verses of the Law, they call *Shema* from the first word of the first of them, which is as it were their *Creed*, and begins thus; *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God.* This Repetition they are oblig'd to every Morning and Night, whereever they are: and it has too its proper Benedictions before and

(*c*) Sect. 12, 13.

and after, and makes up also an Office in the Synagogue.

These forementioned Offices may be differently performed in different Countries, according to their particular Customs; but that which follows, and to which the others are but Introductory, is constant and stated, and uniformly observed by all the People of *Israel*; being a *Formulary* of short *Prayers*, now 19 in Number, 18 of which were dictated by *Esra*, as they say: These Collects are regularly to be said by each of them, at home, or in Publick, thrice every day: and this Office in the Synagogue is always to be said, for the Greater Solemnity, by the Precentor, or Deputy of the Congregation, himself; whereas the Foregoing might have been read by a Private Person. Of those Prayers, or Collects, the *Three First*, and *Three Last* are most remarkable; those speaking the *Glory of God*, and these returning *Thanks* (*d*); the other *Intermediate* ones being *Petitionary*, for Understanding, Repentance, Pardon, Relief from their Distresses, Healing their Infirmities, Giving of seasonable Plenty, Return from their Captivity,

(*d*) Maim. de Prec. Cap. 1. §. 4.

Captivity, Restoration of their Government, Protection of Good Men, Reinhabiting of *Jerusalem*, the Coming of the Messiah, *&c.* the Requests gradually rising up, according to *Origens* above-mention'd distinction of *Supplications, Prayers, and Intercessions.* It is also further to be remark'd, that though the three first Collects are noted to be wholly Doxological, yet the rest are not to be thought to want that Duty; all of them beginning, or ending, with a *Benediction of God*; and the whole Formulary being accordingly call'd the 18 (or 19) *Benedictions*; as it is also prefaced with this Verficle, *Lord open thou our Lips, and our Mouth shall shew forth thy Praise.* But the *Third* of those Prayers is more signally *Glorificatory*: when it is said in Private, *referring* to the *Hymn* of the *Cherubins*, (*e*) *Holy, Holy, Holy*, &c.; and when in Publick, *expressing* it. And there is also a solemn Hymn of Glory, which they call the *Kadish*, pronounc'd particularly by the Deputy of the Assembly, before and after every Service (*f*).

(*e*) Is. 6. Ezek. 3. 12.

(*f*) *Ord. Precum Subjunct. Libr. 2do Libri Jad. Chaz. Titulo de Benedictionum Formulis.*

Thus far goes an Ordinary Morning Service. But on *Mundays*, and *Thurs-*

days, there still follows a *Litany*: and such Prayers are particularly order'd to be pronounc'd from a *Low Place* (*g*).

(*g*) *Buxt. Syn. J. c.* 10.

After the Litany on Those Days (*h*), or after the Offices before described when there is no Litany, as on the Sabbath (*i*); the *Law* is brought from the *Ark* to the *Desk* in great Pomp, and peculiar Portions of it are read there by several, with Prævious and subsequent Benediction of God: and then in the same manner it is carried back: the *People* all the while *Standing*; and, as the *Book* comes and goes, *Chaunting* out some Versicles, and pressing to *Kiss* it.

(*h*) *Buxt. Ibid. c.* 14.

(*i*) C. 16.

Lastly on *Sabbaths*, and other *Great Days*, there follows Another Office, the *Additional Service*, peculiar to the *Festival*; consisting now chiefly of the Commemoration of the Peculiar Sacrifices, on that day heretofore offer'd. And this *Service of Prayers*, though having some the same, is separate and distinct from that of the Daily Morning Prayers: as the Daily and the *Additional Sacrifices*, however some things in both might be of the same nature, were never intermixt and dispatch'd together

ther for greater speed and convenience; but always separately offer'd, and each Office kept intire to it self (*k*).

(*k*) *Maim. de Cult. Div. Tract.* 6. Cap. 7.

§. VII. NOW to this last describ'd *Jewish Order* of Morning Prayers, so far did the Antient *Christian* agree, as to begin likewise with *Lections and Psalmody*: and from the Jewish Custom of *sitting* at the Repeating of those Psalms it is, that such *Portions of the Psaltery* as are now read by the Greeks, without any interposition, are call'd by them *sittings* (*a*): as also the *Laudatory Hymns* in the *Greek* Church, us'd at Morning Prayer, which is thence call'd the *Lauds* by the *Latin*, seem to have been plac'd there after the same Example. As to the *Lections*, the Christians have the variety of the Jews: for as these read in the Morning out of their *Misna*, and *Doctors*, and the *Prophets*, and the *Law*; so had we our Lessons also out of *Unscriptural* Authors, and the *Old Testament*, and the *Epistles*, and the *Gospells*. And herein the *Gospel* with us, answered plainly to their *Law*. For though we read the Gospel before the solemn Prayers, and they the Law after

ter, (and in this order only we differ,) yet the *Lection* was made with us in the like Solemnity; the People *standing up*, and before and after *Blessing*, and Praising *God*; as the *Book* is also in the Greek Church, even at Morning Prayer, carried about with great Solemnity, and *Kiss'd* by the People. After this *Lection* and *Psalmody* (or Psalmody and Lection, for they were always somewhat intermixt,) with the *Exhortation*, if any was made; and after the *Hearers* and *Catechumens* were dismiss'd by the Christians; (and at the same time, I suppose, they were dismiss'd by the Jews, when they had any;) our *Creed*, and their *Shema*, come together: and then, in either Church, the *Prayers* properly so call'd. And lastly these, on certain days of the Week, are clos'd with the Litany, by both.

Thus the ordinary *Morning Services* answer one another: and so also does our *Communion Service*, strictly taken, answer their *Additional*; coming at the end of all, in a distinct Office. For in a *Greek Liturgy* (for Example) both the Psalmody, and Lections, and Creed,

Creed, and the first Prayers, are known to be nothing else but an abbreviated repetition of the Morning Office; (as the Jews too shorten theirs on their Festivals:) and then after that, (as with us of *England* after the Prayer for Christ's Church) the Office of the *Eucharist* begins, the Celebration of the *Additional* Christian *Sacrifice*.

§. VIII. THUS much concerning the Agreement, in the Method and *Order* of Prayers: other particular correspondences may be observed, of which I shall note but a few, leaving such as are more obvious to the Readers own reflections. And *first* it may be remark'd in the *Greek* Liturgy, that when any new Action is enter'd upon in any part of the Service; it is begun with a *Benediction of God* (*a*): in like manner as the *Jews* use to do. And *secondly*, in the preparation to the more solemn Prayers, at the putting on of the *Habits* in which the Priest is to Officiate, appropriate *Benedictions* are said; and one of them, as at the putting on of the *Girdle*, much the same with that the *Jews* use (*b*). *Thirdly*,

As *our* Collects conclude generally with the Laud and Honour of God, so do *Theirs*. *Fourthly*, The *Triumphal Hymn*, as it is call'd in the Greek Church *(c)*, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God, &c.*; is always solemnly said by their *Chazan*, with the third Collect of their Daily Prayers. *Fifthly*, And whereas, when those words are pronounc'd, the *Jews*, with an Exulting Gesture, are us'd to *Lift up*; *not their Eyes only, but their whole Bodies*; *and to Leap up thrice (d)* at that Trine Hallowing, for so they call it, of God; the same Custom appears to have obtain'd among the Primitive *Christians* at a like Prayer: at the latter end of which they are all reported *(e)* to have *join'd in with their Voices, lifting up their Heads and Hands to Heaven, and together raising their Feet*; *as if they would have follow'd their Prayers towards the Spiritual Essence, and ascended up in Body as well as in Mind.* *Sixthly*, Further, that antient form of our Thanksgiving (which follows these words in the Communion Service, *Let us give thanks to our Lord God*) with its special Causes sometimes assign'd; seems to be conceiv'd

(d) B. Syn. Jud. 10.

conceiv'd after the Pattern of the Jews Eucharistical Collect, the First of the last three. *Seventhly* and lastly, Their *Kadish*, or larger *Hymn* of *Glory*, may answer to our *Angelic one*, at the end of our English Communion; *Glory to be to God on High, on Earth, &c.*

Many such Correspondencies may be found between the solemn Devotions of the Synagogue, and of the Church of Christ: and had we any sufficient account of the Prayers, that were daily said in the Temple, by the Priests and Levites; (as we have now notice of little more than what is perform'd in the Synagogue, by the People, and one of them their Deputy;) I question not, but that our Antient Liturgies would be found to come much nearer to their Rites. It is known, that the *Orarium* (*f*) of the Deacons in the Antient Church, was but the same with the *Sudarium*, with which the Sign was given in the Temple (*g*): and it may be observ'd that, as a Priest in the *Greek* Church begins many Actions from the Admonition of the Deacon (*h*); so did the Priests heretofore from the like Remembran-

(*f*) *Goar ad Chrys. Missam numero 9no.*

(*g*) *Maim. de Cult. Div. Tract. 6. Cap. 6. §. 7.*

ces of some lower Assistant (*i*). In the Temple also only it was that the *Proper name* of God, *Jehova*, might be pronounc'd (*k*): and when they tell us, that it was ten times pronounc'd by the High Priest on the Day of Expiation; they let us also know (*l*), that the Priests and People in their several Courts, every time they heard it spoke out, *fell down* upon their knees with their Faces to the ground, and *cry'd out*, *Blessed be the Name of the Glory of his Kingdom for Ever and Ever*. And from that Custom the *Reverence* us'd to the *name of Jesus* may have come: it being the *Appropriate name* of our Blessed *Lord*; *a Name*, as the Apostle says (*m*) *above every Name*, even above the name *Jehova* so much glorified under the Old Covenant, and by which the *Father* would be hereafter Honour'd. So the *Christians* might *bow* at the mention of that Name, in imitation of the like practice of the *Jews*: and to that Practice the Apostle may be well thought to allude, when he says, that *at the Name of Jesus every knee*, of every Place, henceforth *should bow*; *every Tongue* also *Confessing*, (for in the Obeysance

(*k*) *Maim. de Prec.* 14. 10.

(*l*) *Maim. De Cult. Div.* 8. 2. 7.

(*m*) Phil. 2. 9, 10.

ſance of the Temple the Tongue alſo had its part;) *that Jeſus is the Lord*, and King; and all this ſtill *to the Glory of God the Father*.

And thus have I at laſt concluded this incidental Diſcourſe, concerning the Derivation of Chriſtian Ordinances from the Jews; much indeed too prolix, in regard to my firſt deſign; though poſſibly not too long, in reſpect to the importance of the ſubject it ſelf; and which might eaſily have been enlarg'd yet further. But although the Anſwer to one Objection has increas'd ſo enormouſly, yet the other Two may have a quicker Diſpatch, and ſhall take up only one Chapter more.

§. I. (*a*) Tert. de Coron. Cap. 3. *Ad omnem Progreſſum atq; Promotum, ad omnem Aditum atq; Exitum, ad Calceatum, ad Lavacra, ad Menſas, ad Lumina, ad Cubilia, ad Sedilia, quæcunq; nos Converſatio exercet, Frontem Crucis ſignaculo terimus.*

(*g* 2) Ibid. *Die Dominico Jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de Geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate à die Paſchæ in Pentecoſten uſq; gaudemus.*

(*i*) Ibid. *Calicis aut Panis etiam noſtri aliquid decuti in terram, anxiè patimur.*

(*n*) Tert. de Orat. Cap. 12. *Quòd aſſignatâ Oratione Aſſidendi mos eſt quibuſdam, rationem non video: niſi ſi Hermas ille*——

(*q*) Ibid. Cap. 14. *Alia jam Conſuetudo invaluit. Jejunantes, habitâ Oratione cum Fratribus, ſubtrahunt Oſculum Pacis.* ——*Jam enim*

enim de Abstinentia Osculi, &c. Vide literam (*s*) ad operis hujus Partis prioris Cap. 4.

(*r*) Cap. 13. *Sonos etiam vocis subjectos esse oportet: aut quantis arteriis opus est, si pro sono audiamur?*

(*t*) Cap. 11. *Certè* [*Israelis*] *manus semper immundæ, sanguine Prophetarum & ipsius Domini cruentatæ in æternum. Et ideo conscientiâ Patrum hæreditarii Rei nec attollere eas ad Dominum audent.—— Nos vero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus——*

(*y*) Tertull. Apolog. Cap. 16. *Alii—Solem credunt Deum nostrum.— Deniq; inde suspicio, quod immoverit nos ad Orientis regionem precari.*

§. II. (*d*) *Orig.* περὶ Εὐχ. *Edit. Oxon. p.* 130. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ πεταγμένον ——. ἐπιλεξάμενον τὸν τόπον οἴκου, ἐὰν ἐξεστῇ, τὸ σεμνότερον, ἵνα ὅπως ἔστω, χωρεῖον ὅπως εὐχῆς· ὡς πολιτικῶς, τῆς ἀεὶ ἀπὸ ἐξεπίστεως ἐπιποιήσεις εἰ σε πολὺ τῷ πάθει ὁ εὐχόμενος, ἢ φθεγγόμηταί ποτε, καὶ περὶ τὸν ὁρῶν λόγον πεποίηται.

(*g*) See *Gregory*'s Works: Ch. 18. on *Zach.* 3. 8. §. 61. 12.

(*n*) This, in part, is exemplified by Mr. *Gregory*.

(*o*) This too is mention'd by Mr. *Gregory* in the same place: and by Mr. *Selden*, *De Syned.* 3. 16. 2.

§. IV. (*c*) *Orig. Ibid. pag.* 44. Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν δέησιν μὴ εἶναι, τὸν ἐλλείποντός τινι μὴ ἱκεσίας ἀεὶ τὸ ἐκείνου τυγχάνειν ἀναπεμπομένου ἐυχῶν· ἢ ἡ Περσῶν, ἢ μὴ δοξολογίας ἀεὶ μειζόνων μεγαλοφυέστερον ἀναπεμπομένων· Ἐνδέξιον ἡ, ἢ ὑπὸ παρρησίαν τινὰ πλείονα ἔχον ἀεί τινων ἀξιωσιν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· Εὐχαριστίαν ἢ ἢ ὅτι τῷ πεπυκέναι ἀγαθῶν ἀπὸ δεῦ μὴ ἐυχῶν ἀνδομολόησιν——.

§. V. (*a*) *Justin. Apol.* 2. *sub finem.* Τῇ τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων —— (συνέλευσις γίνεται) καὶ τὰ Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἢ (συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν, ἀναγινώσκεται) μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. Εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ Ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ Προεστὼς διὰ λόγου ἢ Νουθεσίας —— ποιεῖται. Ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ Εὐχὰς πεμπόμεθα. Καὶ, ὡς προεῖπομεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς Εὐχῆς, Ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ Οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ——.

(*b*) Tertull de Animâ Cap. 9. *Est hodiè soror apud nos Revelationum charismata sortita, quas in Ecclesia inter Dominica solennia per Ecstasin in spiritu patitur* ——. *Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut Adlocutiones proferuntur, aut Petitiones delegantur, ita indè materiæ Visionibus subministrantur.*

§. VII. (*a*) Καθίσματα.

§. VIII.

§. VIII. It is thus: Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, πάντοτε νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. When the Priest pronounces this, he is said Εὐλογεῖν, or Εὐλογητὸν ποιεῖν: and it is a Δέησιν προσόιμιον, or an Εὐχὴ Προτελεστική. *Vide Goar. ad Euchol. Græc.* pag. 56.

(*b*) Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ παρέχων ἡμῖν τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ ἐπηχέων τὴν χάριν, πάντοτε νῦν, &c. *Vide Chrysost. Liturgiam.*

(*c*) Γνωρὸς Ἐπινίκιον *de quo consuli poterit Goar, ad Chryst. Liturgiam, Observatione* 125.

(*e*) *Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib. 7mo Edit. Paris.* pag. 722. Ταύτῃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα τὸν κύριον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὕψος ἀείρομεν, τότε πόδας ἐπιγείους, καὶ τὴν πτέρναν τὸ Εὐχῆς συνακφώνησιν ἐπακολουθοῦντες τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ εἰς τὸν Νοητὸν ἵστασθαι, καὶ ὑπαφιστάνειν τὸν λόγον τὸ σῶμα τῆς γῆς πειρώμενοι, ——.

(*b*) Such Admonitions as these: Εὐλόγησον Δέσποτα· Ἔπαρον Δέσποτα· Θοῦσον Δέσποτα. *Vide Liturg. Chrys.*

(*i*) An Instance may be seen in the Admonitions given to the High Priest, by those next him, at the putting on of the Two Lots on the Two Goats; *Domine Pontifex tolle Manum Dextram*, or *Tolle manum sinistram.* Maim. de Cult. Div. 8. 3. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *The* Second Prejudice *against a* Jewish *Origination of* Lent, *from want of* Authority *in the* Talmudical Writings;

§. II. *Answer'd: by shewing* (1.) *That those Traditional Accounts were not without some* Antient Foundation *of their own*;

§. III. *(Secondly,) That they are* Confirm'd *in many points by Collateral Evidence*;

§. IV. *And (Thirdly), That they were* not borrow'd *by the Jews from Foreign Authors.*

§. V. *The* Third Prejudice *against such an Origination, from the* Novelty *of it; Answer'd.*

§. I. THE *Second Objection* against the Jewish Original of *Lent*, as we apprehended (*a*), might be this; that the *Traditional Writings* we have *of the Jews*, were *not sufficient Authority for the Knowledge of their Antient Customs:* and this is a Prejudice, that has been entertain'd by many very learned Men,

(*a*) Part 2. Chap. 1.

Men, and has been much confirm'd by *Morinus* his *Exercitations*.

Neither is it to be deny'd, but that the *Jews* have deserv'd this Disgrace: having brought their Traditions under a suspicion, by the foolish way they took to advance the Credit of them. For they thought it not enough, to have their Customs very Antient, and some of them as Old as *Moses*: but he must also have learn'd them in Mount *Sina*, from the Mouth of God himself. Neither was it sufficient, to have had them preserv'd by Writing, if the people had so thought fit: but they must be necessarily transmitted by the sole force of *Oral* Tradition. And when they come at last to be reduc'd into Writing, by their Rabbi *Judah*, about the Year of our Lord 209; his Collection must be immediately as Authentick, as if wrot by *Moses*, or by the Finger of God. And then the Commentaries on this Book, the two *Talmuds*, the First of them they will needs have compil'd in our Fourth Century; and the Last, the Babylonian, to have been completed in the Beginning of the Sixth (*b*).

We shall not therefore wonder, if such

(*b*) *Vide Pocock Portam Mosis Morin. Exerc. 6. Lib. 2di.*

such confident Pretences, as these, have provok'd the World to inquire, and examine; and, as is usual, extreamly to Undervalue and Depress, what others have more unreasonably enhanc'd. And thus both that Fam'd Book, and its Commentaries, are bid to go down three or four hundred years lower, than they were plac'd by their too Devoted Admirers (c): the Text it self, is esteem'd an uncertain Rhapsody; and the Expository Additions to it, a Heap of Impertinencies and Idle Tales. And if there are any Antient Facts or Customs, agreeable to what we know by better hands; the notice of them is suppos'd, not to have come originally from their Own Memoirs, but to have been borrowed afterwards from our Greek or Latin Authors.

(c) Morin. Exerc. modò dictâ.

Now as to my own part, my acquaintance with these Jews has not been so great, as that I should think my self bound to engage in their Quarrel, and to justify the pretended Age and Authority of their Writings. That their Accounts were more Full in many material Cases, I have often had occasion to wish: and that they are certainly

tainly true, I must confess I am never intirely satisfied, until I find them confirm'd by the Concurrence of some better Testimony; such a prejudice has that pretence of *Oral Tradition* given me. I shall not therefore undertake to offer more in their favour, than these two Considerations: *First*, that such *Traditional Memoirs* are *no Novel things*; but that such *Misnaioths* were certainly very old, more early and better Recorded, even than the Rabbins give out: and *Secondly*, that it is *not* likely, that their Accounts of their Customs were *suggested by our Writers*, or form'd from the Observation of Christian Practice.

§. II. AND first as for what concerns the *Misnaioth*, or *Digest* of Traditions, compos'd by their Great Rabbi, and who is now their Oracle; it is allow'd by *Morinus* himself (*a*) to have been Read in their Synagogues in *Justinian*'s time, together with the Law and the Prophets; and to be meant by him in his Edict (*b*) dated in the year of our Lord 548. And if it had then that Authority with the Jews, it must be suppos'd, to have risen up to it after some

(a) Exer. 6. Cap. 2.

ſome conſiderable Tract of Time, and not to have been compil'd in the Memory of Man; unleſs we too will fall into the Rabbinical Fable, and make it to have been held ſo highly Sacred at its firſt appearance. It might therefore well have ſeen the Light an hundred or two hundred years before; and yet not have been particularly mention'd, either by *Epiphanius*, or St. *Jerom*; as not being of that ſingular Repute in their time, above other Collections of the ſame Nature. For, that this was the Firſt Book of the Kind that was ever written, the Jews indeed tell us: but this Tale, we may eaſily gheſs, was devis'd only to do it greater Honour; and He that Believes them not in all, will have no Reaſon to believe them in This. The word *Tradition* is known to ſignify only the *Delivery* of a Doctrine or Ordinance; as *Miſnah* is a *Secundary* Law; neither of them excluding the help of Writing. Neither is *Tradition* or *Secondary* Law, if ſtyl'd *Oral*, therefore to be accounted *abſolutely* Unwritten, but only *Originally*; not as if it were never after to be reduc'd

duc'd into Writing, but as not given out in it at the first delivery. And although St. *Augustin* (c) says, that *the Jews* of that time *had not their Traditions in Writing, but retain'd them by Memory, and deliver'd them Orally*: yet we may well suppose the Good Father to be deceiv'd in this by the Jews; who were shy, it may be, of publishing the Books of this nature to the Knowledge of Christians; and because they were wont in their Schools to deliver their Lessons to their Scholars without Writing (as many other Professors in many places still do) might therefore pretend they never us'd any. For that such Traditions had been written long before, even in the Apostolick Times, we are competently assur'd, from the Epistle attributed to *Barnabas*: where some of the Customs, which *Rabbi Juda's Misnah* gives, are expresly mention'd; and as deliver'd in Writing (d).

(c) *Contra Adverſ. Leg. & Propb.* 2. 1.

From this Testimony of St. *Barnabas* it seems to be plain against the Assertion of St. *Augustin*, and the Modern Opinion of the Jews, that there was some kind of written *Misnah*, in the first Age of Christianity: as it is very

probable also, that this present *Misnah* of Rabbi *Jehudah*'s might be extant at the latter end of the Fourth Age, the time of that now mention'd Father, and of *Epiphanius* and St. *Jerom*. But besides, though these two last Authors do not mention this very Book; yet, as they both understood the Jewish Learning well, so they let us understand that this Traditional Part of it was then in high Esteem with them, cited for Unquestionable Authority, and reputed of very great Antiquity. St. *Jerom*, speaking of Jewish Traditions in St. *Paul*'s time, says *(e)* that a great number of such they continued to have in his, (He for his part supposing them to be the same,) under the name of *Secondary (f)* Ordinances: and adds, that if they were ask'd, for Example, how they came to take the Liberty of a *Sabbath Journey*, when their *Law* commanded them to *sit in their House*; they were ready to justify themselves by that other, their *Traditional*, Authority, and to answer that *Rab Akiba, and Simeon and Hillel* (Names famous in the Present (*g*) Collection) *had allow'd them to walk Two Thousand Feet on that Day* (two thousand

thousand Cubits saith (*h*) the *Talmud*). Such Traditions as these, he says, their *Doctors read* of, certain days of the Week; and the Phrase for it was, The *Wisemen* (*i*) *read the Secondary Law*. So much does St. *Jerom* bear Witness of some *Misnaical Memoirs*, then held very Sacred; and of their *Doctors Commenting* upon them. *Epiphanius* is more particular concerning the Age of those Traditions: and, to refute *Marcion*, who suppos'd the Old Testament it self, to be the *Traditions* the *Pharisees* retain'd, while they *pass'd by Mercy and Judgment*; He (*k*) *bids him inquire whence they came, and he shall find, that they were otherwise descended*; *from* David, *or* Adda, *after the Return from* Babylon; *and from* Akiba, *who liv'd before that Captivity*; *as well as from the Sons of* Asamoneus, *who were* 190. *years before our Saviour*. Writing also against *Ptolomy* the *Valentinian*, who supposes the same *Traditions* our Saviour reproves (that particularly whereby a Parent was unreliev'd under the pretence of a *Corban*) *to be found in the five Books of* Moses; and affirms the *Pentateuch to consist of the Law of God, the Or-*

dinances of Moses, *and the Traditions of the Elders*: he tells him, that for what relates to the *Elders*, he is not able to justify it by the *Scripture (for the Traditions of the Elders are no where extant in the Law)*; and that this his strange conceit proceeds from his Ignorance in those matters. For, says he, *the Traditions of the Elders, are by the Jews call'd Secondary Instructions; and they are four: the First, bears the Name of* Moses; (as some of their Traditions do now); *the Second is of* Rabbi Akiba, *as they call him; the third, of* Adda, *or* Juda; *and the fourth, of the Sons of* Asamoneus. *But where in the five Books of the Pentateuch is that of the* Corban, *mention'd by our Saviour, to be found? you cannot shew it. Your Assertion therefore falls to the ground: that saying of the* Corban, *no where appearing in the Pentateuch.* Now hence we see *first*, that the Traditions, which the Jews had in *Epiphanius* his time, were the same, in his Judgment, which were in our Saviour's time: *Secondly*, that those Traditions in probability were not then kept unwritten: for otherwise our Author would have taken another course with *Ptolomy*'s Ignorance;

norance; and have told him, that those Traditions were so far from being writ down in the Pentateuch, that they were not yet written at all. And *thirdly* we may conjecture from his manner of Expression, that the Jews had four *Misnah*'s distinct then; and that the Compilation, or Digest, of them, and of some later added, is the *Misnaioth* we now have.

Such an Account do these Fathers give us of the reputed Authority of the Jewish Traditions, about the year of our Lord 400. But further, that some of them were not unwritten in the Apostolical Age, we have before seen from *Barnabas* his Epistle: and that they were in great vogue in our Saviour's time, is apparent from the Gospels; as also from *Josephus* (*m*), that there were such *Customs which had obtain'd a long while in* Johannes Hyrcanus *his Days*, above a 100. Years before our Saviour, *and which they of that time had receiv'd from their Fathers, not written in the Laws of* Moses; (for neither does he say, that they were no where written).

It is manifest therefore, from what

has been premised; That such like Traditions, as the Jews now give us, pretended even in our Saviour's time to great Antiquity, and were then much Celebrated and Regarded, and some of them in that Age reduc'd into Writing; That those Traditions, whatever they were, were suppos'd by St. *Jerom*, and *Epiphanius*, to have been carefully transmitted by the Jews, down to their days; and that therefore the Author of the present *Misna*, if he were indeed as late as those two Christian Doctors, must however be allow'd to have had the opportunity of those Memorials, for the Basis of his Collection; and must be also judg'd to have us'd that opportunity, if only by the credit his Work obtain'd with those of his own Nation. So that if we do not receive the Jewish Traditions, with the same implicite Faith the Jews do; yet neither should we peremptorily reject them, as Arbitrary, and Groundless, and of Modern Invention; but rather give them such a fair equitable Entertainment, as to think, that though something of them may be false, yet much also may be true; being ready to admit them to be

true,

true, upon the concurrence of any New unsuspected Testimony, the only favour that I have to desire in their behalf.

§. III. SUCH a mean degree of Credibility the *Talmudical* Accounts might reasonably demand of us, in their own right; had they not yet been able to produce to us any particular Specimens of their Veracity: but many such there are to be collected for them, out of Authors of other Languages. We have seen that what the Present Traditions say of the Expiation Goats; that both of them were to be *like* in shape, and stature, and price (*a*); that a piece of Scarlet was to be put on the Horns of the one, and part of it to be taken off when he was brought into the Wilderness (*b*); and that he was *contumeliously* us'd in the way (*c*): is much the same with that which is related in *Barnabas* his Epistle (*d*), and from him, as is ghessed, express'd by *Tertullian* (*e*). And so the Sabbath day Journey of 200 paces, mention'd by St. *Jerom*, has appear'd to be the same space which the Jews now assign: as

(*a*) *Misn. Titulo Jo-ma* Cap. 6. §. 1.

(*b*) §. 6.

(*c*) §. 4.

(*d*) See the last Section.

their other Traditional Obſervations, he occaſionally reports, are not found to differ from thoſe the Modern Rabbins give us. But for ſuch an Atteſtation, we need go no further than to the *New Teſtament*; many of whoſe Paſſages, and ſayings, are found to agree ſo well with ſome of the Jewiſh Records, as to borrow thence their beſt and cleareſt light: as manifeſtly appears from thoſe Commentators, and others, of this and the former Age, who have not neglected to conſult the Talmudical Learning. Thence it is maniſeſt, that the *Maſters* of the *Jews* have been brought to contribute very much to the Explication of the *Goſpel*: neither could they have been denied this Certificate, but becauſe it was thought, to be too great an honour for them, by ſuch, who ſeem reſolv'd to be as obſtinate againſt them, as they are againſt the Faith.

§. IV. From no better a reaſon, when ſuch a conſent between the New Teſtament and the Jewiſh Traditions appears, is that other ſurmiſe thrown in; that this Agreement is by fraud, and

and that the Later Rabbins transcrib'd their Customs out of our sacred Writings: a surmise absolutely as groundless, as any Jewish Tradition can be; and no less Improbable.

For first, when we certainly know, that the Jews of old had such Traditional Memoirs of their own current amongst them; it cannot but seem much more reasonable and natural, to suppose their Present Traditions deriv'd thence, than from our Testament: especially since we find, that this conceit it self is Novel, and that the Elder Christians *Jerom*, and *Epiphanius*, who knew the Jews and their Learning best, never enter'd into it, but presum'd the contrary.

Neither is it at all *likely*, that the *Talmudists* ever increas'd the knowledge of their Customs by the help of our Writings: not only because that Nation has all along affected to be strangers to our Learning, partly out of Superstition, and partly out of Contempt: but because it actually appears, by their Gross mistakes in many points of History, (mistakes with which they are much reproach'd by those (*a*) whom we

(*a*) *Mor. lib. 2. Exerc. 5.*

we have now oppos'd) that they never indeed look'd into our Authors; no not so much as into their own *Josephus*, from whom they might have had much better information, if they would have vouchsaf'd to have been instructed in any other Language than their own.

But we need not go so far about, to refute this suspicion of Jewish Forgery: it being evident only from the bare view of such Traditional Particulars, and of the Texts of the Gospel, to which they relate. For whereas many Circumstances of those Traditions give so natural, and apposite, and full, a sence to their several Texts, that they justify at the same time their own Truth: they are also, we see, so obscurely express'd, and covertly hinted in those Texts; that they themselves could never have been suggested, and rais'd thence. This evidently appears, to give no other Examples, in the Parallels of Baptism, or of the Lord's Supper (*b*): in either of which, the Jewish Customs afford a clear Explanation to many a Passage of our Scripture; but receive none. And that they could not be rais'd, and explain'd thence; is very

(*b*) Ch. 2, & 3. of this Repart.

very plain in fact. For these Traditions, which as soon as we have learn'd them from the Jews, every one in these latter Ages, easily and immediately applies to the Exposition of the Holy Text; were never in the least thought of by those many Antient Commentators of ours, who wanted indeed the help of the Jewish Learning, but wanted not the Application nor Discernment, which the best Jewish Master could be suppos'd to bring.

§. V. The *Third* and last *Prejudice*, we fear'd might be rais'd against a Jewish Derivation of Lent, was from its *Novelty*; that it cannot be true, because not mention'd by any Authors before.

But this is an Objection, which may have been already remov'd, by the appearing Probability of some like Originations, which we have now offer'd at, if the Reader has been so favourable as to admit them. However, as he cannot, I presume, reject those very many Explications of the Text of the New Testament, which Modern Commentators have given us from the Accounts of Jewish Customs; so he will reflect, that

that most of them were lately very New, and such as are not at all remember'd by the Antient Expositors.

Neither is it to be wonder'd at, that the Antients left many such Derivations and Allusions unmention'd; or any Imputation upon them, if they are suppos'd to have been more ignorant of the Jewish Customs, than we now are.

It is well known, that in the Beginning there was very frequent Communication betwixt the Jews, and the Christians; and that most of the first Converts to our Church came from the Synagogue. Yet in a little time there grew, we know, not only a strangeness between those of the two Religions; but, on the Jews part, a great and a fierce Hatred: then when the Proselytes from the Gentiles had fill'd our Churches, and most of the Bishops and Doctors began to be of that Number. Of that rank were the greatest Men, remember'd to us, of the second Century: and among them are those eminent Writers, still preserv'd, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tertullian*; Men admirably skill'd

in

in the Heathen Learning, but in the Jewish no further, than the Scriptures had inform'd them, and that too by a Greek Translation. And although, amongst those who followed them in the next Ages, some one or two, as *Origen* in the third, and *Jerom* in the fourth, were better seen in that Knowledge: yet they chose to use it, rather to compare and rectify the Translations, then extant, of the Old Testament, by the help of the Language; than to bring any Traditional Rites, or Phrase, thence, for a Correspondence with the Doctrines, and Usages, of the New. Whether it was then thought, in the heighth of that Animosity, that such a comparison would do the Jews too much honour: or whether it happen'd by the Allegorical humour, which *Origen* affected, and the other imitated; they endeavouring so much to spiritualize the plain Facts and Ordinances of the Hebrew Text, that much litteral account of Unscriptural Ordinances could not be expected from them.

From what therefore concerns the *Exposition* of the *New Testament* in general; there being but little use made of

of the Jewish Learning, by those few that chanc'd to know it; the other Commentators as (for example) S. *Ambrose*, St. *Augustin*, *Chrysostom*, and *Theodoret*, bestow'd their pains in the use of what helps they had: and they gather'd thence a Plain, and True, and Useful, sence of the Text; though, in some places, not so Elegant, and Full, as that the words would have express'd. Neither is it any disreputation to their Comments, that they reach'd not the Heighth of the Original; no more than it is, to the best Translations. Neither were they under a much greater Disadvantage, in not understanding here and there a Criticism, understood now by us; than we now are, if any thing of that kind, unobserv'd by us, shall happen to be remark'd by those that come after. In all Ages of Christianity, there has still been more of the Holy Scriptures understood, than was necessary for their great design, the Salvation of Believers: and possibly the Providence of God has so order'd the Dispensations of Knowledge, that there might be some equality between us, and those nearer the Apostles; and that, in recompense

compense of those many advantages we have lost, this new Information should be given.

And in particular as for *Rites* and Usages, this may be remember'd; that as we have, in the few Writings of the first Ages that remain, but an occasional accidental mention of such Usages; (for such things were then too well known, to be studiously and circumstantially describ'd;) so we have less notice of their Original, to expect. For that likewise was in the very beginning, too obvious to be discours'd of; and after, when it came to be less understood, was not much inquir'd into: those primitive Christians wanting no originary Derivations, to reconcile them to such Customs, as they knew practis'd by the *Apostles*, and Apostolical Men; and not being so curious about the Reason, as observant of the Example. This seems to be the case of the Christians of *Tertullian*'s time: for neither does he himself appear to have been very curious in that matter. See Ch. 10. §. 14.

Thus have I indeavour'd, though too operosely, to give some satisfaction to the General Prejudices against a Jewish Derivation

Derivation of Christian Rites. And thus much I may have gain'd, that the Reader will be hence induc'd to give a fair hearing, to such a Derivation of *Lent*; (the Argument to which I am at length returning;) if I am not to hope, that he may be brought so far over, as now to be *prepossest* in its favour.

§. II. (*b*) Τιὼ ᾖ παρ' αὐτῶς λεγομένων Δαστέρωσιν ἀπαγορεύομεν ——: καὶ αὐτὰς ᾖ δὶ τὰς Ἱερᾶς φωνὰς ἀναγιώσκοντας τὰς βίβλους αὐτὰς ἀναπτύσσοντες, ἀλλὰ μὴ καταχρύπτοντες τὰ κατ' αὐτὰς εἰρημένα τὰς ἔξωθεν ᾖ περιλαμβάνοντες ἀγράφους καινοφωνίας. *Noveli.* 146.

(*d*) Barn. Epis. Cap. 7. *de Capro Emissario.* Ἀκούσατε πῶς καὶ τοῦτο πεφανερώκασιν οἱ Ἱερεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ, γεγραμμένης τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτῆς ——. Πῶς ὖν ἐνετείλατο, προσέχετε. Λάβετε δύο τράγους καλοὺς καὶ ὁμοίους, καὶ προσενέγκατε καὶ λαβέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἕνα εἰς ὁλοκαύτωμα. Τὸν ᾖ ἕνα τί ποιήσουσι; Ἐπικατάρα[Θ], φησὶν, ὁ εἷς. Καὶ ἐμπτύσατε πάντες, καὶ κατακεντήσατε, καὶ περιθέτε τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον περὶ τοῦ κεφαλοῦ αὐτῆς, καὶ ὕστως εἰς ἔρημον βληθήτω. Καὶ ὅταν γένηται ὕστως, ἄγει ὁ βαστάζων τὸν τράγον εἰς τοὺ ἔρημον, καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ἔριον, καὶ ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ φρύγανον τὸ λεγόμενον βάτον —. Τί ᾖ ὅτι τὸ ἔριον εἰς μέσον τοῦ ἀκανθῶν τιθέασι;

Hieron. Ep. ad Algas. Quæst. 10. *Quantæ Traditiones Pharisæorum sint, quas hodie vocant* Δαστερώσεις (*f*), *& quam Aniles Fabulæ, evolvere nequeo.* ——*Præterea, quia Fussum est, ut diebus Sabbatorum sedeat unusquisq; in Domo suâ, & non egrediatur, neq; ambulet de loco in quo habitat: siquando eos juxta literam cœperimus artare, ut non jaceant, non ambulent, non stent, sed tantum sedeant, si Præcepta velint servare: Solent respondere & dicere,* Rab Akiba, *&* Simeon, *&* Hillel (*g*), *Magistri nostri, tradiderunt nobis ut bis Mille Pedes ambulemus in Sabbato* (*h*): *& cætera istiusmodi, Doctrinas hominum præferentes Doctrinæ Dei.* ——*Videntur igitur Observationes Judaicæ*

daicæ apud imperitos, & vilem Plebeculam, imaginem habere rationis, humanæq; sapientiæ. Unde & Doctores eorum Σοφοὶ, *hoc est sapientes* (*i*) *vocantur. Et si quando certis diebus Traditiones suas exponunt Discipulis suis, solent dicere,* οἱ σοφοὶ δευτεροῦσι; *id est, sapientes docent Traditiones.*

(*f*) משניות.

(*g*) *Vide* Maimonidis *Præfatationem in* Seder Zeraim, *editam à* Pocockio *nostro, sub finem.*

(*h*) *Videri poterit hâc de re* Maim. Tractat. de Sabbato, Cap. 27; *quiq; ad eum è margine commentatur.*

(*i*) חכמים.

(*k*) Epiph. Hær. 42. Refut. 26. Ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπῃ, κατέχετε τὰς Παραδόσεις τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων ——. μάθετε ἀπὸ ποίου χρόνου ἀπαρξάμενοι αὐτοῦ ——, πότε ἡ ἡ Παράδοσις αὐτοῖς γέγονε τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ εὑρήσεις· ὅτι τοῦ μὴ Δαβὶδ, μετὰ τὸν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον τοῦ ἡ Ἀχιβᾶ, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Βαβυλωνικῶν αἰχμαλώσεων γεγόνασι· τῶν ἡ ὑῶν Ἀσαμωναίου, ἐν χρόνοις Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀντιόχου, ὅσοι τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐνδημίας ἕκατον ἐνενήκοντα ἔτεσι.

(*l*) Hær. 33. §. 9. Αἱ γὰρ Παραδόσεις τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων, Δευτερώσεις παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λέγονται. Εἰσὶ ἡ αὗται τέσσαρες· μία μὲν, ἡ εἰς ὄνομα Μωϋσέως φερομένη· Δευτέρα ἡ, ἡ τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ Ῥαββὶ Ἀχιβᾶ· τρίτη, Ἀδδὰ ἤτοι Ἰούδα· τετάρτη, τῶν υἱῶν Ἀσαμωναίου.

(*m*) Joseph. Archaiol. 13. 18. Νῦν ἡ δηλῶσαι βούλομαι ὅτι Νόμιμα πολλὰ τινὰ παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως νόμοις. *Hæc autem Johannes ille Hyrcanus observari amplius vetuerat, Sadduceorum in gratiam.*

§. III. (*e*) Tert. adverſ. Judæos, cap. 14. *Sic enim & duorum Hircorum, qui Jejunio offerebantur, faciam interpretationem. Nonne & Illi utrumq; ordinem nominis Christi, qui jam venit, oſtendunt? Pares quidem atq; Conſimiles, propter eundem Domini conſpectum, qui non aliâ venturus eſt forma, ut qui agnoſci habet à quibus & læſus eſt. Unus autem eorum circundatus Coccino, Maledictus, & Conſputatus, & Convulſus, & Compunctus, à populo extra Civitatem abjiciebatur in Perditionem: manifeſtis notatus Inſignibus Chriſti Paſſionis; qui coccinea circundatus veſte, & conſputatus, & omnibus contumeliis afflictus, extra Civitatem Cruciſixus eſt.*

PART II.

REPART. II.

A Conjecture concerning the Original of Lent.

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CHAP. I.

§. I. *Our* Easter, *kept for some time with the Jewish* Passover.

§. II. *The Notification of* Easter *by* Paschal Letters, *agrees with the Practice of the Jews.*

§. III. *The* Ante-Paschal Preparation *of Christians, answers to a like* Preparation *of the Jews before their* Day of Expiation.

§. I. THE *Festival* which puts an end to *Lent*, the Solemnity of *Easter*, is known by all to be an Imitation of the Jewish *Passover*; and the *Resurrection-Sunday*, to have come

in the place of that Great Day on which the Children of *Israel* were releas'd from their *Ægyptian* Bondage. And it is known likewise (*a*) that, in the appointing of this Paschal season, the *Christians* followed for some time the Designation of the *Jews*; and that afterwards, when they found reason to regulate this matter by themselves, they still kept to the same Mosaick Rule.

(*a*) *Vide Bucher. de Pasch. Jud. Cyclo. Cap.* 1.

§. II. Now when the Christians began to use a common Calculation of their own, it was generally the work of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, (a place fam'd for *Astronomical* Learning) to consider afore-hand on what day of the common Solar year, the first month of the Lunar year, would happen to be the next Spring; and accordingly to ascertain the *Easter* Sunday, which was to be the First Sunday after the fourteenth day of that First month. This the Great Bishops of several parts learnt usually from him of *Alexandria*; and timely notified to those of their Provinces, that they might know when to begin their preparatory Devotions, which attended that moveable Festival. And

And this alſo was done, as I conceive, after the Example of the *Jews*. For, tho' when they were in their own Country, the Lunar year was with them of common uſe; yet they were ſtill to learn, when it ſhould begin: for the firſt New Moon was to be ſo plac'd in the Spring ſeaſon, that on the ſixteenth day of it a Sheaf of the Firſt-fruits of the Harveſt might be preſented before the Lord (*b*) *&c.* (*c*) Such things therefore the Prieſts, (as in other Nations); or the Sanhedrim, (as the Talmudiſts will have it;) were to conſider: and if the ordinary year of twelve Lunar Periods fell ſhort, they were to lengthen it out with the Addition of a *thirteenth*: and whether they would make ſuch an Intercalation or no, it was fit they ſhould ſignifie to the People (*d*) ſome convenient time before; that a ſuitable Preparation might be made againſt that ſolemn Feaſt, to which every Iſraelite was bound to repair.

(*b*) Levit. 23. 10.
(*c*) *Maim. de Conſecr. Calend. Cap.* 4. *Seld. de An. Civ. Ver. Jud. Cap.* 5.
(*d*) *Maim. Ibid. Seld. Libri ejuſd. Cap.* 9.

Notice the Jews wanted, that liv'd at any diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, to order their affairs ſo, that their abſence for ſome Weeks at that time from home,

might be less incommodious: however to make ready any residue of Holy things, that might be in their hands, and were to be spent at *Jerusalem*; to take care to have all their Family circumcis'd; to Purify themselves, if not to take up the Lamb; to discharge the Vow of a Nazarite, if they had any such upon them; to provide, and to offer, any Eucharistical Sacrifice, that might be due. And for some of these reasons, they commonly came up to the Temple before the Feast; and the precedent Week had its peculiar Celebrity: and probably all the fourteen days of that First Month were half Festival, as hath been intimated above (*e*).

(*e*) Part 1. Ch. 5. §. 3.

Now such a notice was likewise necessary for the *Ante-Paschal Preparation*, the Christians us'd, though in a contrary manner. For they, as we have seen (*f*), spent some time before in Fasting; all of them, both the Asiaticks, and those who differ'd from them: and though some *fasted* only *one day*, yet *others* fasted *two*, *others more*, says *Irenæus*; and of them, *some Forty*. This indeed is the account *Irenæus* gives of his own, and *Victor*'s side: but, in all probability,

(*f*) Part 1. Ch. 3.

probability, the Asiatick manner of Fasting, differ'd not from theirs in length of time. For from that *Apostolical Constitution*, cited by the *Audæans*, in *Epiphanius*, it has appear'd not unlikely (*e*), that those also of the *Asiatick* manner, opposing their Fasts to the Festivity of the Jews, began therefore their Fasting at least a Week, if not a Fortnight before the 14*th* day: as the same Opposition might have directed them, to have kept the 50 days after with great Joy.

§. III. But in this contrary manner of observing the Antepaschal Season, Opposition to the Jews was not primarily design'd: neither was it further prosecuted by the Christians, than they were lead to it by contrary Causes. For what ever reason the Jews might have for their Pentecostal Sadness, the Resurrection of Christ gave his Followers a greater, for Joy: and if the Jews did exult in the Death of their Messiah, the Christians were certainly to lament it. This Lamentation also of our Saviour's Death, as it was not made in consideration of any loss by them sustain'd;

so

so neither did it arise out of Indignation, against his Mortal Persecutors.

On his Passion-Day they Fasted, and Griev'd for the Sin of the Jews, by which he was put to Death: but they bemoaned also their other Sins, and the Sins of the whole World, and more especially their own; those for which he suffer'd, and which were all the more guilty, and more hateful causes of his Crucifixion. In this Abhorrence of all Sin, and Penitential Grief, they spent the day of their Lord's Death: and for the better performing this Duty then, they prepar'd themselves, by the Abstinence and Devotions of the Season before.

This was the Intention, as well as Practice, of the whole Church; and this was their *Antepaschal Preparation*, concurring at least in time with that of the Jews. But the Christians, agreed yet nearer with the Jews in this whole Action; passing their time, not indeed as the Jews then did in that very Season, but as they did in another as solemn, and in an occasion wholly alike to the present circumstances of the Christians: that is the Church of Christ

Christ kept the *Day of the Passion*, as the Jews did the *Day of Expiation*; and prepar'd for the one, just after the same manner as They did for the other.

For this is the Conjecture I now offer, that as many Jewish Ordinancies were patterns to the Christians, and as their *Sabbath*, and *Munday*, and *Thursday*, were remov'd to our *Sunday*, and *Wednesday*, and *Friday*; so their *Expiation Day*, was transfer'd to our *Passion Day*; accompanied, as it us'd to be attended, with all its Prævious Offices. And this Parallel, *Tertullian*, we may remember, in the name of the Catholicks, has already suggested to us (*g*), though he did not speak it out, when he tells us; that *the Fast of the tenth day of the Seventh Month is abolisht*; and at the same time, *that the Days on which our Saviour was taken away, were now determin'd to that Duty.*

(g) Part 1. Ch. 4. § 2.

This Conjecture I shall endeavour to approve; by shewing, *first* the Correspondence between the Expiation Day of the Jews, and that of our Lord's Passion; and *Secondly* between the Seasons that Precede, both the one, and the other, of those Radical Fasts.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

§. I. *The* Sacrificial *Performance on the Jewish* Expiation Day,
§. II. *Compar'd with that of our Saviour on His* Passion Day.

§. I. THE *Day of Expiation*, or Attonement, is with the Jews a very Great Day; injoin'd by God under a very severe Sanction, and observ'd by them always with a suitable Care. It was appointed on the Tenth Day of their Seventh Month; just six Months after the day of the Caption of the Paschal Lamb, or Kid of the Goats: and the Duties of it were Peculiar, partly *Sacrificial*, to be perform'd by the High Priest; partly *Devotional*, incumbent on the People.

The *Sacrificial Office* proper to the Day, was proper to the *High Priest* (a): and he *only*, and *on that day* only, was allow'd to enter *within the Vail* into the Holy of Holies. Besides the Propitiation he was then to make for himself, and his House; He was to *make an attonement*

(a) For this and the whole Section, see *Levit.* 16.

tonement for the People of the Congregation: and that was done *by two Kids of the Goats*, *for a Sin-Offering*. These *two Goats*, were to be alike; according to the Tradition, both by the Jews (*b*) and by *Barnabas* (*c*): and to be *presented before the Lord, at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation*. There *the High Priest cast Lots upon them: one Lot for the Lord, and the other Lot for the Scape Goat*, [for *Azazel*, suppos'd by some to be *Satan* (*d*)]: and the heads of both of them he bound about with two narrow pieces of Scarlet (*e*). With the *blood of that which was offer'd to the Lord, he enter'd into the House, and within the Vail*; *to sprinkle it before the Mercy Seat*: and while he was in the House, *no one else was to be there*; [no not in the space between the Altar, and the House; as the Rabbins say (*f*)]. *On the other Goat, he laid both his hands*; *and confess'd over him all the Iniquities of the Children of Israel, and all their Transgressions in all their Sins*; [in a Form, the Misnah pretends to give (*g*);] *putting them on the Head of the Goat*: and then he deliver'd him, *bearing all those Iniquities*, and Accurs'd, as the Traditions

(*b*) *Maim. de Cult. Div. Tract.* 8. *Cap.* 5. §. 14.

(*c*) For this, and what follows from *Barnabas*, see Repart. 1. *Ch.* 11. §. 2. *lit. d.*

(*e*) *Maim. Ibid.* 8. 3. 4.

(*f*) *Maim. Ibid.* 6. 3. 3.

(*g*) *Codex Joma Sheringhami, c.* 6. 2.

of

of *Barnabas* call him, *into the hand of a Fit Man*; [Ready and Bold, I suppose (*h*); or an Executioner; who was to be a Stranger, not an Israelite, says *Maimonides* (*i*);] to be carried into *the Wilderness*: [The People therefore spitting upon him, and Goading him on, as *Barnabas* tells us they were bid to do; and the Misnah says (*k*), there were those who were ready to pluck him by the hair and cry Away, be gone; though they were kept off from so doing by the contrivance of a narrow passage.] In this manner he was lead into the *land not inhabited*, [to a Rock call'd *Zuk* (*l*); where his Leader they say (*i*) dividing the Piece of Scarlet, put half of it on some point of the Rock; [on a Thorn (*m*), says *Barnabas*,] and ty'd again the other half between the Horns of the Goat, and so push'd him down headlong, to be broke to pieces by the Fall.]

(i) D. C. D. 8. 5. 7.

(k) Joma 6. 4.

§. II. Such an Annual *Expiation* Day was appointed for the *Jews*: and its Sacrifice, whereby the Attonement was made for the Sins of that Year, was so Perform'd. There was in like manner a certain

a certain Day appointed, to come in its due time, when an Attonement ſhould be made for the Sins of the whole World; not of one Nation only, or of one Year, or Age; by a Prieſt, ſupereminently High; and with a Sacrifice, truly ſingular and extraordinary, and of it ſelf deſerving to be accepted.

The Day of *our Saviours Paſſion*, every good Chriſtian believes to have been the Day of the *Expiation of Mankind.* And that he in that Sacrificial Action, was both the *Prieſt*, and the *Sacrifice*, the whole Tenor of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews poſitively avows. He is there ſaid to be *a merciful and faithful High Prieſt, making Reconciliation for the Sins of the People* (a): *the High Prieſt of our Profeſſion* (b): *our Great High Prieſt, who is paſs'd into the Heavens* (c): *Call'd of God as was Aaron: after the Order of Melchiſedech* (d): inveſted with an *Unchangeable Prieſthood* (e): *a High-Prieſt, who is ſet on the right hand of the Throne of the Majeſty, in the Heavens* (f).

(a) Hebr. 2. 17.
(b) 3. 1.
(c) 4. 14.
(d) 5. 4, 10.
(e) 7. 24.
(f) 8. 1.

And this *High Prieſt was of neceſſity to have ſomething to offer*, ſays the Apoſtle (g). *He* therefore *enter'd once into the Holy Place, not by the Blood of Goats,*

(g) 8. 3.

and

and of Calves, but by his own Blood, having obtain'd eternal Redemption for us (*h*) : --- and *thorough the Eternal Spirit offer'd himself without spot to God* (*i*). *For Christ is not enter'd into the Holy Places made with hands, which are the Figures of the True; but into Heaven itself; now to appear in the Presence of God for us. Nor yet was He to offer himself often; as the High Priest entreth into the Holy Place every year, with the blood of others ---- : but now, once in the end of the World, hath he appear'd to put away Sin, by the Sacrifice of Himself ---- : being once offer'd, to bear the Sins of many* (*k*). *So are we sanctified, thorough the Offering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all* (*l*) :-- who *after he had once offer'd one Sacrifice for Sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God* (*m*) ----. *For by one Offering He hath perfected for ever them that are Sanctified* (*n*).

(*h*) 12. (*i*) 14. (*k*) 9. 24. (*l*) 10. 10. (*m*) 12. (*n*) 14.

Thus exactly adequate is the Correspondence between the Propitiations of the Old and New Covenant, as it stands propos'd to us by the Divine Writer to the *Hebrews*. Our *Saviour* is asserted to have been the *High Priest*, and on his Passion Day to have *officiated* for us;

us; to have offer'd the Sacrifice of Himself; to have bore our Sins in his own Body; and with his own Blood to have enter'd into the Holy Place, not made with hands; and to have appear'd, (as before the Mercy Seat,) in the Presence of God. Thus much of the Analogy the Apostle has expresly laid down: and it may very naturally be carried further. The Author therefore of the Epistle ascrib'd to *Barnabas* (*o*), and *Tertullian* after him (*p*), have both took notice, that the two Kids of the Goats were chosen alike, in as much as both of them were equal representatives of our Blessed Lord: and that he was as that clean unspotted one, which was offer'd to God, and whose Blood was carried into the Holy Place; and also as that other, laden with the Sins of the People, and so sent away; that he likewise wore the Scarlet; he was, as it were, Accurs'd; was revil'd, spit upon, and buffeted; gave his Back to the Smiters, and his Cheek to them that pull'd off the Hair. And to this, after their Example, I may add from the same Traditions, that He was *sent away*, by the hands of a *Fit Man*, *Pon-*

(*o*) *Barn. Ep. Cap.* 7.
(*p*) See Repartit. 1. Chap. 11. §. 3. *lit. e.*

tius Pilate a *Stranger*; Goaded to his Execution; lead to Mount *Calvary*, the Place *Abrupt* and *Cut off*; Himself there *cut off* from the Land of the Living, and as it were *deliver'd up to the Prince of this World (who came though he had (q) nothing in Him)* and into the seeming *Power* of the *Devil*, to suffer Death in appearance, but indeed to *destroy him who had the Power of Death (r).*

(q) Joh. 14. 30.

(r) Hebr. 21. 4.

Thus did our Faithful and Merciful *High Priest* both *Act*, and *Suffer*, for us, in that Great Day of Attonement; answerably to the *Sacrificial* Part of a like Days office with the Jews: it remains that we now see what was the *Devotional* part, to be perform'd by the *People*.

(d) עזאזל is taken by the Scholiasts, *Salomon*, and *Abenezra*, to be a *Hill*; so call'd from its *Hard Ground*: and to be compounded of עזאז, [in *Arabick* عزاز, *Terra Dura*]; and of אל, in the *Auxetick* sence.

Some of the *Greek* Interpreters, whom our Translation has followed, have included the *Goat* in the signification of the Word; and have render'd it by Τραγος ἀπερχόμενος, and Τραγος ἀπολελυμένος: in which case it is presum'd to be compounded of עז *Caper*; (for this word by the *Septuagint* is sometimes taken Masculinely;) and of אזל *abiit*, or عزل *remotus est.*

Both

Both those ways are dislik'd by *Bochart*, who therefore supposes the word to signify ἀναχωρήσεις, or χωρισμοὶ: taking it to be عزازل, from the root just now cited: and understanding the Text concerning the *Lots* in this manner, that *One* was *for the Lord*, [or his Altar]; and the *other for* the *Separation*, or *Removing away*; and in this manner the *Septuagints* ἀποπομπαῖ may be taken.

But still it seems to others more proper to understand some *Person* for the other Lot, and who may be oppos'd to *the Lord*. And so *Origen* takes the ἀποπομπαῖος of the *Septuagint*, to be *Satan*: not as if he were like one of the *Dii Averruncii*, (which is indeed the signification of عاذ, a word though, it may be, regarded here by those *Translators*; who content themselves often with any signification of the Original, be it suitable to the place or no;) but that he was *Averruncandus*, and *Depellendus*, whose place therefore is in the *Wilderness*. And *Azazel* in this sense, may also be deriv'd from عزل *Removere*, *Abdicare*.

And it may be observ'd that, though the Jewish Scholiasts take no notice here of any Evil Spirit, yet their Traditions mention one *Samael*, particularly for the Expiation Day; [*Buxtorf. Syn. Jud.* Cap. 26.] to whom a Present, they say, was then to be given, that he might not *hinder* their Reconciliation. This *Samael* they take to be the chief of the Evil Spirits; and the *Prince of this World* [*Lightf.* in *Joh.* 12. 31.] that is *Satan* himself, [*Maimon. More N.* 2. 30.]: And so the Ægyptian *Typhon*, who was βίαιος, κωλυτικὸς, and ἐναντίος; was call'd *Seth*, and *Bebon*, and also *Smu* [*Plut. de Isid. & Os.*] Thus the Jews seem to have retain'd a Memory of something done to the *Devil* on that Day; though they conceive it under a false Notion: and still, when the Service of the Day is over, they sound their Horn; for joy, they tell us, of the Victory they have then obtain'd over *Satan* [*Buxt. Syn. Jud. Cap. eod.*]

Dr. *Spencer* therefore understands *Satan* here; but makes the name to be אזל עז *Fortis Abiens*, or *Fugiens*; ὁ Ἀποστάτης: [if the abovemention'd عزل would not have serv'd better,

one of whose significations is *Descivit.*] And the Goat, which he says was us'd for the Depelling of Evil, as the other was for procuring Favour, he supposes to be sent to *Satan:* not for an Offering to him; but to shew the Merit, and End of Sin; to reproach him of his own Wickedness, by what was so sent to him; and to make it appear, that not he, but God to whom the other Lot fell, was the Averter of Evil.

This account has been suspected by some, and much oppos'd: but still the same *Evil Spirit* may be allow'd to be meant; in another more convenient, and very safe, sense. For, as *Wicked Men*, are said sometimes to be *deliver'd to Satan*; so might that *Goat* also, in the place of those Men, whose *Sins he bore:* and by that *delivery* the Accuser, and Tormentor, might be made to know, that God's People were now discharg'd of their Transgressions; and that only that Beast, on whom they were all laid, was to answer his Accusations, and to be expos'd to his Vengeance. This reason of the Action seems to be agreeable to the Circumstances of it, reported both by the Scripture and the *Talmudists*; and may stand with any of the forementioned Derivations: though it may too have one of its own. For from the *Arabick* عذل, which signifies *Reprehendit*, *Culpavit*, *Azazel* may be likewise form'd; either by doubling the second Radical, or by Preposing ע; and signify, one who *finds fault much* and *vehemently*, ὁ Διαβολος.

(*h*) עתי is render'd *Fit*, in a large sense. But it may I suppose, mean one that was more particularly fit for that business; and would not spare to strike in the way, or to kill in the end; from عات, and عنا, *Ictus inflixit*, *Noxam intulit.*

(*i*) צוק is *Mons altus & praeruptus:* and so is شقّ, and صدوع, in *Arabick*; from the *Fissures* of it, I conceive. And גורה may also signify a piece of *Ground*, so *Broken* and *Cut*, (for so *R. Salom.* seems to understand it;) as well as Land *separated*, and otherwise *cut off*, an *Island*, or a *Desart.*

(*m*) Ραχις signifies not only *Spine*, (as *Barnabas* understands it, *cujus* Βλαστοὶ *Edules*) but also *Rupes excurrens in mare*, *Mons*, *litus*

littus, & Recessus Maris: and therefore appears to answer to צוק, and to express all the significations of the words of that Family; in which شقيق is *Mons, & Difficillimus & Altissimus in eo locus*; صدوح the same, as also *Ripa*, *Latus fluminis*; and lastly, شوك is *Spina*. And it may likewise be observ'd, of the words relating to the abovementioned גורה, that جرر has under it the signification not only of *Insula*, but also of *Recessus, seu Decrementum, aquæ, vel Maris*: and that جدر, as well as גדר, signifies a *Hedg* now, and might the *Thorns* heretofore; and withal expresses the Βλαστὸι, or *Buds*, which are mention'd by *Barnabas*.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *The* Devotional *Duty of the* Jews *on their* Expiation Day,

§. II. *Practis'd by* Christians, *on the* Passion Day.

§. III. *Some Circumstances of the* Eves *of those Days, compar'd.*

WHile this Reconciliation was making in the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*; the People, even those who were not present at it, had their parts to perform; and were to join with it, wheresoever they resided; Fasting that whole Day, and *afflicting their Souls from Evening to Evening (a).* For *whatsoever Soul it was, that was not afflicted in that same Day, he should be cut off from among his People (b).*

(a) Lev. 23. 32.

(b) 29.

Now that they might be sure not to be defective in so necessary a Duty; they took care to begin the Office of that Day, earlier than the Sunset of the first Evening; and to conclude it later than that of the second. The *Affliction* also of their Souls they shew'd, not by *Fasting* only; but by all other Demonstrations

ſtrations of *Penitence*, and Grief for Sin.

And therefore for the better performing that Duty; as they prepare themſelves ſome conſiderable time before, (of which we are to ſpeak in the following Chapter;) ſo more particularly on the Ninth Day, the day immediately preceding. For then, they repair to their *Synagogues* before day, and continue long at their Devotion there, going afterward to their Burying places, for their greater Humiliation: and in the Afternoon they *waſh* themſelves, *Confeſſing their Sins*; make ready their *Candles*, which they are preſently to uſe; and particularly take care, to *Ask Pardon* of thoſe they have injur'd, and to make *ſatisfaction*. Then in the Synagogue, with other Prayers, they make a *ſolemn Confeſſion of* their *Sins*; and ſometimes receive from one another their *Forty ſtripes* ſave one: and afterwards they return home, and eat a Formal *Supper*, thereby to diſtinguiſh that day from the following, in which they are neither to Eat nor Drink (c).

And now before the Night, beginning that *Great Day*, is come; they return

(c) For this and what follows ſee *Buxt. Syn. Jud. c.* 25.

turn to the *Synagogue*; set up and *light their Candles*, for each one; (and sometimes two, as both for their Soul and their Body:) and after Proclamation is made of *leave for the Excommunicate* to join with them, they begin their solemn *Prayers* of the Day, which they continue towards Midnight; some spending the whole Night, and repeating the whole *Psalter*. However before Sunrising they come thither again, and stay there all the rest of the Day; Reading out of the Scriptures, and Praying: in which Prayers they take care that their second Service, the Sacrificial Service for the Day, be said before Noon. After Noon they begin the Service of the Evening, continuing their Devotions till the Sun is ready to set; when they subjoin another Office, for the Close of the Day, and peculiar to that day: and then when the Night of the next day is come; they have the solemn Blessing pronounc'd by the Priests that are present, and so are dismiss'd.

After this manner, while the *Temple* stood, the Jews heretofore are presum'd to have employ'd the Day of Expiation; and not otherwise to have

expected

expected any benefit from the Sacrifice, which was then offer'd, and by which all their Sins were to be intirely Remitted.

And since the *Destruction* of their *Temple*, and ceasing of their *Sacrifices*, this their own Office the Jews still continue; and impute so much to their due performance of it, as to think (*d*), that the Punishment of many offences is entirely Forgiven, and of the rest at least suspended, by that alone, and without the help of the Expiatory Goats which are now wanting.

(*d*) Rep. 1. Ch. 9. §. 2.

§. II. NOW as it is certain, what was laid down in the Chapter foregoing, that the *Day* of our Saviours *Passion*, was the Great and Last *Day* of *Expiation*; when that one *Propitiatory Sacrifice* was made for the Sins of the *whole World*, and of *all Ages*, by that our Great aud *Catholick High Priest* (*e*): so is it not to be question'd, but that the whole World, had it then known what Propitiation our Blessed Lord was making for them, would have join'd the Affliction of their own Souls, with that his bitter Passion; and would, in their

(*e*) Tert. adv. Marc. 49.

their ſeveral Habitations, have accompanied his Oblation for their Sins, with their own Confeſſion of them; with bitter grief for their Commiſſion, and ſtrong and earneſt Supplication for their Pardon.

This All *Mankind* could not have fail'd to have done on that Day; had they but known, what our *Saviour* was then doing for them. But that then was hid, from the Eyes of the Apoſtles themſelves.

When therefore the *Myſtery* of his Death came to be reveal'd, and the Propitiation of that day was made known; if his Diſciples thought fit to keep an *annual Memorial* of it, (and that duty the *Paſchal Seaſon* of the Jews, ſo ſolemnly kept, could not but ſuggeſt to Chriſtians;) they could not neither fail of Solemnizing the *return* of that Day, with that Profound Veneration of our Suffering Lord, and that Penitential Supplicatory Devotion to the Father, which the *Original* Day it ſelf would have requir'd from them.

Now that ſuch a Day was kept yearly, in memory of the Paſſion of our Lord, in the firſt and Apoſtolical Age;

is

is a truth, which the former Part of this Discourse may have clear'd to us (*f*): and that it was all along observ'd, with as great a strictness of Fasting and Humiliation, as the Jews themselves us'd on their day of Propitiation; is likewise manifest: as it is also most certain, that the Grief, and Affliction, they then were under, was not for the Death and Loss of their Lord, and Master; but for the Guilt of their Sins, and the Sins of the World, for which their Lord and Master had that day suffer'd. So much correspondence there was, most evidently, between the Practice of the Jews, and of the Christians, on their two Great Fast Days.

(*f*) Part 1. Chap. 3.

Thus should our Saviour's Expiatory Sacrifice, which completed and superseded the Jewish, have been attended answerably: and thus actually was the Annually Memory of it, afterwards celebrated with a suitable Devotion. And this, though not done by the Primitive Church, in vertue of any such strict Injunction, as that under the Old Covenant; might yet be well taken up, upon the cogent reason of so just a Congruity. And as the *Jews* continue their

their *Devotional* Office, now when by the Judgment of God an end is put to the *Sacrificial*: so might the *Christians* think fit to keep up a yearly *memory* of that their *Sacrifice*, whose offering was once made, and never to be reiterated, but its efficacy is to endure for ever: they likewise observing this Solemnity, not with any Ritual Form, but with such eternal Duties of Penitence and Supplication, as are always incumbent upon us miserable Sinners, which the Justice of God will perpetually require, and his Goodness in our Saviour accept.

§. III. THERE seems therefore to be reason enough, from the nature of the Thing: from that Mysterious Suffering of our Lord, and the consequent Practise of his Primitive Servants; to found the continued Solemnity of the Passion Day, upon its correspondence with the Levitical Day of Propitiation. Neither is it to be expected that I should justify the Parallel, by producing any like Opinion of the first Christians, to that we have seen of the Jews, concerning the Necessity and

Merit

Merit of the Obſervation of the Day: when the one was obſerv'd only as Proper, and Expedient, (though in the *judgment* probably of thoſe who had *the Spirit of God*); and the other as Poſitively commanded by God *Himſelf*. And yet ſo far did the firſt Chriſtians ſeem to regard the vertue of a Jewiſh Expiation Day, in their Practiſe about their own, that they ſtill determin'd the ordinary ſtated *Period* of the *Penances* of ejected Brethren, with the Penitence of *Good Friday*, and the following *Saturday*, (both which were the Days of our Lord's Paſſion;) as if by that their Converſion was conſummated, and the Pardon of the Church intirely gain'd.

And when they readmitted *Penitents* on *Maundy Thurſday*; as was the Antient Uſage of the Church of *Rome*, and it may be of all others; they did not therefore depart from this their Parallel with the Expiation Day, but rather confirm'd it. For the *Jews*, as we have ſeen (*g*), on the *Eve* of their *Expiation* *relax* their Sentences of *Excommunication*, and admit all to the Office of the next Day: and for the ſame reaſon the Chriſtians

(*g*) Rep. 1. Ch. 5. § 3.

Christians might admit their Excommunicates, to the Offices of both Passion Days; and even those, whom they did not afterwards suffer to continue in their Communion. The office of the Passion Day, or Days, I mean; which consisted in Confession, and Supplication: for it is very probable, that in the earlier times the Reconcil'd Penitents were not admitted to the Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood, until *Easter-Day*.

The *Supper* likewise, which was us'd to be held solemnly on that *Thursday*, though it is said to be in Imitation only of our Lord's Supper; yet it may also have proceeded from the Practise of the *Jews* on their *Expiation Eve*, which we mention'd above. For they, in the Conclusion of their Penitential Preparation towards the Propitiation Day, do always make a *Solemn Supper*: and think it as much their Duty to eat well on that Evening, as on the Sabbath: that being, in their Opinion, a Duty of the Afternoon; as strict Fasting, is the Duty of the following Day.

So agreeable was the Supper of *Passion Thursday*, to the Supper of the Jews

Jews on the Eve of their Expiation: and more agreeable, than to the last Supper of our Blessed Lord; which, (if we go by Jewish Custom,) was held after Night; and, in their reckoning therefore, rather on the *Friday*, than on the *Thursday*: Agreeable I say as to the time; for as to the Freedom of Eating, I suppose it differ'd much from that Jewish Meal.

But those *Asiaticks* (*h*), who differ'd from the other Churches; both in their observing the 14*th* day with the Jews, whatever day of the Week it should be; and also in breaking off their Fast that day; might possibly in this point have as much follow'd the *Custom of the Jews* for one Season, as they did their *Calculation* for the other. For those of *Asia* seem to be of the Opinion, of which their Followers in *Epiphanius* (*i*) certainly were, and which many other Churches have also embrac'd, that our Saviour suffer'd on the 15*th* day of *Nisan*: neither is it likely, that they did not Fast on that day; notwithstanding they are said to have broke it off before: for such a neglect, no doubt, could not have been pass'd over unobserv'd

(*h*) Part 1. Ch. 1. §. 3.

(*i*) Part 1. Ch. 5. §. 3. lit. *m*.

ſerv'd by their Adverſaries, and would have drawn upon them the cenſure of *Victor*, more than either of the other differences; and beſides, we know, their now mention'd Followers did actually ſo faſt (*i*). I ſuppoſe therefore that their Breaking off the Faſt, was not a Determination of it, but an Interruption by ſuch a *Supper*; and that this their Meal was Formal, and Full; and in the nature of a Feaſt, and ſo reputed: whereas the Supper, if any, of the reſt of the Chriſtians was a ſparing refreſhment; and ſuch as, in compariſon with the other Meal, did not ſeem to Diſcontinue the Abſtinence of the Seaſon; as ſince it has not been thought to do.

To theſe leſſer particulars, by which ſome indications of a Propitiation Day may appear; I ſhall laſtly add another Cuſtom, to be read in the *Ordo Romanus*; their cuſtom of ſtriking of Fire, and *lighting up* their *Candles* very ſolemnly, in the Evening of the ſame *Paſſion Thurſday*. For, whatever other reaſon it may have had for its inſtitution, it does alſo very well correſpond with the Uſage of the *Jews*; who take, as

as we have obſerv'd, very particular care to have their *Candles* ready againſt their *Propitiation Eve*, with which that night their *Synagogues* are more than ordinarily enlightned.

And thus I have offer'd to ſhew the Reſemblance, our Paſſion-Day bears to the Jew's Expiation Day; both in it ſelf, and ſome Rites of the Day immediately preceeding it. I am now to go higher, and to conſider at large the whole Previous Seaſon, call'd commonly *Lent*; how well it agrees with the like Preparatory Seaſon of the Jews, before their Day of Expiation.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *A* Penitential Season *with the* Jews, *Preparatory to their Expiation Day: some* certain Days *next before it, kept Uniformly by All*; More *also, generally, though in various numbers*; *and* Forty, *by many*; *but the* First *of the Forty, Universally observ'd.*

§. II. Forty Days, *a solemn space of Penitence in the Jewish Discipline.*

§. III. *The* Christian Lent, *compar'd with the* Jewish.

§. I. THAT the Jews had an *Antepaschal* Season, if not of a Fortnight, yet of a Week; and particularly, that the Sabbath of that Week, was call'd the *Great Sabbath*; we have observ'd before (*a*): whence appear'd a Conformity between them, and the Christians, (those especially who reckon'd by the days of the *Month*, and not of the *Week*) in point of Holy Time; though the Devotions of the one were generally *Festival*, and of the others altogether *Penitential*. But when we once suppose the Day of our Lord's *Passion*;

(*a*) P. 1. Ch. 5. §. 3.

sion, to have been the Day of *Expiation*; and come to consider the *Preparatory* time, that usher'd in this solemn Day: we then begin to find a fuller, and a higher, correspondence; not only in a Weekly, but in a *Forty Season*; and that likewise of *Penitential* Duty.

For first, the Jews prepare themselves for the Day of Propitiation, more particularly the *Week* before it. They rise before Light, assist at Publick Prayers, confess their Sins thrice every day, Fast, and give Alms (*b*). And as the *People* fit themselves in a more especial manner, by the Devotions of those seven days, for the solemn Act of Humiliation commanded them by *Moses*: so, they tell us, the *High Priest* heretofore imploy'd the same *Week*, in a continual Exercise of his Office; that he might be the better able to discharge the Difficult Duty of the Great Day (*c*). The *Sabbath* also of that Week, they distinguish by a peculiar Title; and call it the *Sabbath of Repentance*.

Thus the Jews pass the seven preceeding days: and so *Leo de Modena* (*d*) distinguishes them from the rest. For though all the ten of that seventh

(*b*) For this whole Section, See *Buxt. S. J.* Cap. 26.

(*c*) *Fomé* Cap. 1.

(*d*) *Cer. des Juif.* P. 3. C. 6.

Month, are call'd the Ten Days of Repentance, reckoning the Day of Expiation for one: yet the two first are in some manner Festival, being the first of their Political Year, and on them they abstain not from Dinner and Supper; for which reason they may not be esteem'd as Penitential, as the seven that follow.

These *Ten Days* are constantly so observ'd by all Jews: the last, the Tenth, by Scriptural Precept; and the others, by Universal Custom. And further, to these are added, out of the foregoing Month, ordinarily a *Week* at least, says *Leo de Modena.* For even the *German* Jews begin their Humiliation as early; according to a particular Rule they have (*e*). But other Nations generally take more time to that solemn Office: and frequently Devout Persons begin from the First Day, even of this preceeding Month, to Fast, to make Prayers and Confessions, to repeat the Penitential Psalms, and to Give Alms; continuing so to do the whole *Forty days.* However all Jews *begin* their Penitential Devotion, the First day of that Month, the *Fortieth day* before the *Expiation*;

(*e*) *Morin. de Pœn.* 10. 34. 3.

Expiation; though they may afterwards discontinue, in the intermediate time. On that day also they begin to blow the Horn in their Synagogues, which they do every day that Month: for an Alarm, they say; that they may Repent, and be ready to meet the Judgment of God; who, according to their Tradition, sits in *Judgment* the *Ten days* of the Next Month.

§. II. I have mention'd their Opinion, of God's Judging the World, in the Beginning of their Seventh Month: and it may seem thence, that their Custom of giving notice by the sound of the Horn, may rather respect the *Beginning* of the Month *Tisri*, than the *Tenth Day* of it; and be rather the Warning of *Thirty*, than of *Forty* days. But this suspicion, if it should arise, will receive easy satisfaction, from another concurrent Tradition of the Jews, universally receiv'd by them; that *Moses* went up upon the *Mount*, the Last time, on the *First day* of their *Sixth Month*, and return'd again to them, with the second Copy of the Law, on the *Fortieth* after, the *Tenth* of the *Se-*

venth, their *Expiation day* (*f*). Now when he went up, he commanded a Horn, as they say, to be sounded thorough the Camp; to give notice to the People, on what Errand he was going; that they might not again commit the like Abominations; in memory of which, they now still sound it; and we besides know, from better Authority (*g*), that *Moses* spent these *forty days*, and *forty nights*, in Fasting, and Supplication, for the Sins of the Children of *Israel*. So that we are rather to think, that they have since in some measure follow'd his pious Example; and that on the day of his Ascent, they begin to prepare for that of his *Descent*: which in their Opinion is the *tenth* of *Tisri*; and on which they have been since commanded, always to *Afflict themselves before the Lord*, at least, *one Day and Night*.

(*f*) *Rab. Salom. in Locum Deuter. proximè citand.*

(*g*) Deut. 9. 18.

The *Forty days* therefore here, are not to be look'd upon as an accidental number; and the bare Aggregate of *Thirty*, and *Ten*: but as they make up directly a full *Penitential Season*. And indeed that *Number*, seems to have been very antiently, appropriated to

Penance,

Penance, and Humiliation. For, not to reckon up the *Forty Days*, by which God *drown'd* the World (*h*); or the *Forty Years*, in which the Children of *Israel* did Penance in the *Wilderness* (*i*); or the *Forty Stripes* (*k*), by which Malefactors were to be corrected; though these Instances may concur to strengthen the Opinion: whoever considers, that *Moses* did, not once only, fast this Number of Days (*l*); that *Elias* Fasted also in that Wilderness, by the same space (*m*); that the *Ninevites* had precisely as many Days, allow'd for their *Repentance* (*n*); and that lastly our Blessed *Saviour*, when he was pleas'd to Fast, observ'd the same Length of time (*o*); whoever, I say, considers these Facts, cannot but think, that this number of Days was us'd by them all, as the common solemn number, belonging to Extraordinary Humiliation; and that those were accustom'd to *afflict* themselves *Forty days*, who would deprecate any great and heavy judgment; though the Scripture does not specify the number: as those, we know (*p*) who had a *Nazaritical Vow* upon them, were us'd to observe *thirty*

(*h*) Gen. 7. 4.
(*i*) Numb. 14. 34.
(*k*) Deut. 25. 3.
(*l*) Deut. 9. 9, 18, 25.
(*m*) King 1. 19. 8.
(*n*) Jon. 3. 4.
(*o*) Matth. 4. 2.

days, though the Scripture had not neither determin'd that space.

And this *is* no more, than what St. *Jerom*, a Father much vers'd in the Jewish Knowledge, has expresly averr'd, in his Comment on *Jonas*; where he says, that *Forty*, *is the number proper for Penitents*, *and Fasting*, *and Prayer*, &c.; *and that for this reason*, Moses *fasted forty days*; *and so* Elias; *and likewise our blessed Lord*, &c. as may be seen at large, in the Passage already exscrib'd above (*q*). This is there positively, and in good earnest, said by St. *Jerom*; as the Reason of those Examples: though Mr. *Daille* puts it off (*r*), as if the Good *Father* had *Play'd* upon them; while *He* himself rather *plays* with the *Father*.

(*q*) Part 1. Ch. 8. §. 2.

And, according to this, the Penance of *Forty days* is very frequent in the Modern *Penitentials* of the Jews; as we have also seen before (*s*); being there generally injoin'd, upon any of the Greater Transgressions.

(*s*) Rep. 1. Ch. 9. §. 2.

And, to go yet a little further in this matter; I cannot tell, whether the *Forty Days*, which our Blessed *Saviour* himself fasted in the Wilderness, were not

not so pass'd by him in the nature of a *Penitential Fast*. For the *Baptism of John*, is known to be a *Baptism of Repentance* (*t*), *preparing* for the *Messias* to come: and it may not be unreasonable to suppose, that by it the Baptiz'd were, upon the *Confession* of their *Sins*, admitted and oblig'd to a *course* of *Repentance* for them; as now the Jews very carefully Wash and Baptise themselves, on the Eve of their Propitiation Day. And thus our Saviour, as he *fulfill'd all Righteousness*, in submitting to that *Baptism*; so he might likewise, in complying with the *Ceremony* consequent to it, and undertaking the Form of *Humiliation* for Sin: He entering upon a *solemn Fast*, as the Rest were to do; though performing it in an extraordinary manner.

(*t*) Acts 19. 4.

But, to return to my subject; whatever the fortune of this last Conjecture may be; the Reader, I hope, will not be unwilling to allow, that *Forty days* might have been always with the Jews a *Penitential space* of time; that it is so look'd upon by them now, and has been time out of Mind; and that the Forty Days, ending in the

Day

Day of *Expiation*, are of the ſame nature.

§. III. AND now I come to trace the *Parallel*: which yet the Reader muſt have been drawing to himſelf before. For if we do but conſider their *Propitiation Day*, as the Great commanded Faſt, determin'd by *Moſes*; and the *Seven*, or nine before it, as days ſometime after generally agreed on, to *prepare* and prediſpoſe for That; and alſo ſome *other Days*, afterwards *added* to thoſe, for the ſame purpoſe, by the Devotion of ſucceeding times, but in a *various number*, at the Diſcretion of ſeveral Perſons and Places; and all theſe ſeverally added out of the *Forty*, which are to be reckon'd backwards from the Radical Faſt, and which comprehended a *ſolemn ſpace* of *Penitential Time*; This, I ſay, if we do but recollect; we cannot at the ſame time but think, that we have here an exact Pattern of our *Chriſtian Lent*.

For when the *Paſſion Day* was once put for our *Expiation Day*; as indeed ſuch it was, and I preſume in the beginning was ſo eſteem'd univerſally; ſome Few *days before* it were then judg'd fit

fit to be taken in for a *Preparation* (*a*): and those were most naturally taken, which make up the *Holy Week*, and which also in a little while absolutely Obtain'd (*b*). At the same time, to these *Others* were also *added*, but discretionally, as several Persons thought fit, and several Churches directed; and so many added by some, as to make up the number *Forty*: a number of Days, that was always look'd upon as the most *solemn for a Fast*; which those therefore *reckon'd*, who did not altogether *keep* them; and which gave *Denomination* consequently, even to the Lesser Spaces, that were fasted within them (*c*).

(*a*) Part 1. Ch. 3.

(*b*) — Ch. 5.

(*c*) — Ch. 10.

That is, I suppose the *Holy Week*, as soon as it came to be observ'd Universally, to have answer'd the *Seven*, or *Ten Days of the Jews*. For it was not necessary, that the Days should be precisely of the same Number, though they were of the same Nature: for that the Particular considerations of Christianity might otherwise determine; as when they resolv'd to keep the Passion Day, not upon the day of the *Month*, but of the *Week*. That *Passion Week* therefore

therefore was kept with more than ordinary strictness of Penitential Devotion: and if the *Sunday* of it was *exempted* from Fasting, it was because it had with us the privilege of a Sabbath; for the *Jews* fast not their *Sabbath of Penitence*. As there was too another apparent Conformity between the *Jews*, and *Eastern Christians*, in the observation of the *Holy Saturday*: for whereas those Christians never fasted on any *Saturday* or *Sabbath*, no more than the Jews; yet on the *Passion Saturday* they always *fasted*; as the Jews do likewise on that single *Sabbath*, upon which their *Expiation Day* may fall.

Now this *Holy Week*, which, with the following *Festival* one, was a time of *Vacation* in *Courts of Justice*, by the Imperial Law (*d*), under the Christian Emperours; and might have had the same immunity before, by Private Custom of the Church; was in this too not unlike to that Penitential time of the *Jews*, in which they Hear no *Causes*, nor administer any *Oaths* (*e*). And it is observable that when a *Larger Lent* came to be formally kept; as that of Forty days was; at least, after the Coun-

(*d*) Part 1. Ch. 5. §. 3.

(*e*) *Buxt. S. J. Cap.* 25.

Council of *Nice*, either by the Determination or Agreement of the Catholick Church: that then in a little time the ſame *Vacation* was enlarg'd too; and it became unlawful to give any *Oaths*, during the whole *Quadrageſimal* Seaſon; A Privilege that was after extended to other times of Publick Faſting, as alſo of Feſtivity.

Such is the Correſpondence between the *Antepaſchal Faſt* of the Chriſtians, and the *Ante Propitiation Faſt* of the Jews: and by that, if I miſtake not, a good and rational Account is given of the *Practice* of the *Antient Church*: why they firſt choſe to keep ſuch a *Faſt* in general, and yet notwithſtanding *differ'd* in the Particular of its length; every Church, if not Perſon, being left to their liberty therein: why one Portion of its time, the *Paſſion Week*, came in a little while to be commonly obſerv'd, and reputed more *Holy*: as alſo, why all the while there was ſuch a Regard to *Forty Days*; as that ſome faſted them in the Beginning; others afterwards us'd their *Name*; and all in ſome time endeavour'd to come as near the *Number* on either hand, as the repetition

petition of *Weekly Periods* would allow them.

(p) No one can be a *Nazarite* for less than Thirty Days: and when a Jew makes the Vow simply, and expresses not the Time; *Thirty days* are understood. So *Maimon. Tractat. de Nazeriatu* Cap. 3. §. 1——. And this was the Rule antiently: as appears by *Josephus*, speaking of *Bernice*; [*De Bello Judaic.* lib. 2. cap. 26.] Ἐπιδήμει δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, Εὐχὴν ἐκτελοῦσα τῷ Θεῷ. Τοὺς γὰρ ἢ νόσῳ καταπονουμένους, ἢ παῖν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις, κθθ' ὁ νόμος ἐκέλευε, πρὶν ἢ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν εἰς ἀπολύσιν εὐχῆς ἄγειν θυσίας, οἶνόν τε ἀφίεσθαι, καὶ ξυρᾶσθαι τὰς κόμας.

(r) Daill. de Quadrag. lib. 3. cap. 16. *Hi Sacri Patrum Lusus.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§. I. *This* Origination *of* Lent, *very Probable: and its Observation, a* Testimony *to our Lord's* Expiatory Sacrifice. *However,*

§. II. *The Consideration of that* Expiatory Sacrifice, *is a good reason for our observing the* Passion Day; *and likewise*

§. III. *Some* Preparatory time *before it.*

§. I. A Very great Resemblance, if I mistake not, has appear'd between the Christian Fast of *Good-Friday*, and the Jewish of their *Propitiation Day*; in the Ground, and Reason, of the Observation; in the Manner of the Abstinence; and in the other Penitential Duties. And likewise no less Similitude has been discover'd between the respective *Preparatory Seasons*; in their Reason also, and Manner, and in the space of Time.

And this so near a Resemblance might of it self have perswaded us, that it could not have arisen by chance; and

and that if both the Pieces were not Copies, the one was Drawn by the other: and it would have been as plain also in ordinary presumption, if one Observation must have been the Copy; that the *Jewish* was the *Original*. But all this grows more undeniable, when we come to reflect, that our Church it self was deriv'd from Theirs; and most of its Offices, Discipline, and Ceremonies, borrowed thence. For why should not their *Expiation Day*, be imitated by our *Passion Day*; when our *Sundays*, and *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays*, and the old *Stationary* Days, our *Easter*, and our *Pentecost*, are all after the like Example? And if we have followed the Jews, in their Methods of *Humiliation*, and ways of *Abstinence*, and *Penance*; why not in the Solemnity of a *Season* for such Duties?

And now if this Derivation I have propos'd, might be taken for granted; I might then observe against the Followers of *Socinus*, that an Anniversary, and very Remarkable Testimony has been all along given, by the whole Church of God, to the Expiatory Sacrifice of our Blessed Lord: as possibly the

the Discontinuance of that antient and laudable Practice, may have given too much way to the late Revival, and Modern Increase, of that Great Error in Belief. But I will not offer to found a Truth so Sacred, and which is otherwise so well grounded, upon any Conjecture, however Probable it may appear.

§. II. But, though I do not after all affirm positively, that the first Christians had this Correspondence in their Views, at the Institution of that Holy Time; for I shall leave it as Probable only, and to the Judgment of the Reader: yet this, I think I may securely assert; that such a *Respect*, if they had it, was very *Just*, and *Proper*; and that the same Consideration is a very good reason for the *Continuance* of the *Observation* by all True and Orthodox Christians.

For our Saviour's Passion, the Expiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, and of all Ages, was indeed once offer'd in the fullness of time, and by Him never to be Repeated: but rationally therefore to be Commemorated;

memorated, by the Believing Redeem'd part of Mankind, in all their Generations to come. And if the Resurrection of our Lord, was always thought fit to be recognis'd with a Weekly, and therefore certainly with an Annual Solemnity: his Death also, as surely as it was fixt in Time, and known to have come to pass the *Friday* before; so as necessarily did it demand its Anniversary also, if not Weekly, Memorial. For, though his Resurrection, indeed, was exceedingly Glorious and Triumphant; yet his Passion was, no doubt, much the more Mighty, and more Remarkable, Work: in as much, as the Death of the Eternal Son of God, was far more Wondrous than his Rising from it; and it was yet more Wonderful, that he should submit to the Ineffable Condescension for our sakes. For the *cause* of his Passion, it was, our *Saviour* tells us, that *he came into the World* (a): as if all the Discourses, remember'd in the Gospel, were but as Prefaces to it; and all the Miracles of his Life, serv'd only to signalise it. It was the Basis and Ground-work of the Church, on which our Salvation stands;

(a) John 18. 37.

stands; a mighty Foundation, and deeply laid.

Had we therefore no constant Need of this Expiation of our Lord, for our repeated continual Transgressions; and had we been absolutely Innocent, ever since our first Regeneration by Baptism; yet the *Death*, in which we were Bapti'd, and by which we had been once Redeem'd, could not have fail'd of a pious and grateful *Commemoration*, *once* at least in the *Year*; and this *Day*, if any other, would have had its place in the Christian *Calendar*.

In that Case, indeed, the Day would have been kept *Eucharistically*, and as the Sacrament of our Lord's Death is now to be Celebrated; in a sad and astonishing Remembrance of his bitter Passion, intermixt tho' and temper'd with Joy and thanks for the Propitiation it made. But though our Intervening Offences have necessarily chang'd the manner of the Celebration, and turn'd our Joy into Mourning; yet the Commemoration it self is far from being superseded by them; and is rather inforc'd by greater reason; for we are now to be call'd to the Remembrance

of our Sins, as well as of our Lord's Passion.

And if we now counterchange the Supposition; and as before we regarded only the Death of our Lord, abstractly from our Sins after Baptism; so here we regard those only, and take no notice of any Anniversary of the Passion: yet even the *separate consideration* of those *Sins*, might well have challeng'd to them some *One Day* in the *Year*; wherein, after an extraordinary manner, we should confess and lament their guilt, humbly beseech their Pardon, and intreat the Benefit of that Expiation for them. For, though the Sacrifices for Sin have ceas'd, by that one Propitiation of Our Saviour; yet by deplorable Experience we know, that our Sins cease not; they are generally as numerous and frequent, as they were before the Covenant; and much more heinous, having now become exceeding Sinful, as committed against greater Light, and higher Obligations. If therefore we withunderstand our selves aright, *Confession of Sin*, and *Supplication for Forgiveness*, continue to be the daily Duty of *Christians*, as well as of

Jews; make a no less Proper, and Necessary, Part of our ordinary Publick Devotions; and are still as fit to be the express Business, and peculiar Office, of some Extraordinary Time. And if such an Appointment should be made, by the Governours of the Church, that we should meet together for this Purpose *annually* on a *solemn Day*, to take the more publick Shame to our selves, and to give the greater Glory to God; no Good Christian, sure, would refuse to concur in so common, and necessary, a Work; but as he is ready to meet and celebrate any other *Fast*, indicted on the occasion of Temporary Calamities; so he would never decline to join in a *Humiliation*, assign'd for much more weighty, spiritual reasons, for the saving of Immortal Souls, and averting of Eternal Vengeance. He only that is *without Sin*, might seem unconcern'd in such an Order; but he then would not not be without Charity; and would be, in this also, like our *Saviour*, that he would condescend to humble himself for the Sins of his Brethren.

And were there now such a General, and Solemn, *Christian Fast* to be ap-

pointed; and were we to find it a *proper Season*: it could not undoubtedly be more congruously plac'd in the whole Circle of the Year, than on the Day of our Lord's *Passion*; were there any such day already observ'd. For, as all the Refuge of our Supplications, must be in that Expiation; and by it only, God can be intreated: so a lively Remembrance of that Death, would best give us the due sence of the Guilt and Demerit of all Sins; but most bitterly reproach us with our own, those Bold and Ungrateful Transgressions of a most Gracious Covenant, that was seal'd in such Precious Blood.

So fitly, and naturally, do *both* those *Duties*, of Celebrating the *Memory* of our *Lord's Death*, and *Mourning* for our own *Sins*, concur on the *same Day*: the Recognition of that our Expiation, and the Affliction of our Souls, being as closely join'd together by Eternal Reason, as ever they were by the Law of *Moses*: the Duties also heightning each other; our Humiliation increas'd, by the consideration of our Saviour's; and the Mercy of his Expiation more sensibly Ador'd, in the consideration of those

those Sins, whose Pardon we implore.

For that *Double Reason*, and with this *Double Day*, has *Good Friday* been always observ'd: Nor will the Devout Practice be blam'd by any Regular Church, or Christian. Regular, I say; not speaking of those, who will not keep the Day, because the Papists do; for by the same reason they may refuse to keep *Sunday*: or because it is injoin'd, to the Prejudice, they say, of their Christian Liberty; for so they may refuse to yield to an Argument, because it convinces them.

§. III. NOW these two Great Duties, when they are once fix'd upon their proper Day, which they will fully imploy; will also require, that we should come in some measure *Fit* for so weighty an Office; and should be *Prepar'd*, in a more than Ordinary manner, for the Extraordinary Performance.

For, (according to the Supposition I now us'd) were we to celebrate the Anniversary of our *Lord's Passion* only, and with no respect to our Sins since our Baptism: yet we should come up-

on the solemn Day too Rashly, and Unworthily, if we did not appoint some others to go before it, and usher it in; and should seem to have too low thoughts of the sacred Mystery, if we did not take care to rise up to the high Consideration, by the steps and ascents of some previous Meditations. To the keeping of the Great Memorial rightly, such Preparatory Remembrances would be wanting: that we may bring to it a fuller, and livelier Perception of the *Mercies of God in Christ*; may the better comprehend, *with all Saints*, the Dimensions of that *surpassing*, inestimable *Love*; may more profoundly Adore, more gratefully Thank, and more zealously Devote our selves and our Service; having before-hand endeavour'd to Confirm and Actuate our Faith, to Raise and Quicken our Hope, and to Oblige and Inflame our Charity.

But such a Preparatory Season is still more needful for the other, the *Penitential*, part: that we should afore begin, to Recollect our past Transgressions, to Reflect upon their Guilt, and to dispose our Minds to an Abhorrence of them; that we should beseech God humbly

humbly for his Grace, to promote this Holy Work; should review our Baptismal Covenant, bewail its Breaches, and Repair them, by Confession to God, and Restitution to Men; Renewing our Vows, and Mortifying our Lusts, and recovering and improving our virtuous Habits; against that *Friday*, when we are solemnly to appear in the Divine Presence, Contrite and truly sorrowful for our Sins, stedfastly resolv'd to Forsake them, and, as much as in us lies, Qualified for their Pardon.

Thus would a *Preparation* have been Necessary, to *either* of these Two Offices *Apart*: but much more justly will they expect it, when *join'd together*; when we are to be Provided, both fitly to Contemplate the Mystery, and effectually to be Benefited by its Expiation.

For these Holy, and Important, purposes *Lent* is instituted; a solemn, and large, space of time; to be Religiously imploy'd by each private Christian, at his Discretion; as the condition of his Soul shall require, and the circumstances of his Worldly Affairs permit. Accordingly

cordingly the *First Day* of it gives Warning of the, then distant, Propitiation Day; and calls us early to our Duty: actually entring us on the Godly Work, by Reflection on our Sins, and Acknowledgment of Divine Justice; by Fasting, and Prayer: and engaging us to go on, and to make use of the following Intermediate Season; for the perfecting our Repentance; and for our Increase in the Knowledge of the *Grace of Christ*, that *Wisdom and Power of God*. A notice very necessary, to those who want a solemn Monitor; and which, by the Grace of God, may some time or other serve to Awaken, and Reclaim them: but always Acceptable, and Welcome, to the Good Christian; who, the more sensible he is of his own Offences, and of the Mercy of God in Christ, the more ready he will be to comply with the Advice, and the more glad of the occasion. Some days therefore, of those many that follow, are presum'd to be set apart for such Preparatory Thoughts, and Actions; *Wednesdays* we may suppose, and *Fridays*, those Weekly Fasting Days: when also, Opportunities of Publick Devotion

tion are every where prescribed; and, in our Great City, Exhortations likewise and Instructions are administer'd, by the Wise and Pious Order of the present *Diocesan*. But the *last Week*, is more particularly Dedicated to this Office: and then the Church expects its devout Members daily to appear before God together, to meditate on the Passion of their Lord, and with Penitent Hearts, and earnest Resolutions of *Dying likewise unto Sin*, to Attend thenceforth upon him to his Cross, and wait till his Resurrection: and also Directs us, to pass the time, not in such Rigorous Austerities, as unprofitably afflict the Body; but in such an Abstinence from divertive Pleasures, and even from common Liberties of Food, and Pursuits of Business, as may speak our Thoughts and Affections to be otherwise imploy'd, and, freeing them from Avocation and Distraction, may Cherish and Improve them.

By this Orderly and Natural Method, we are design'd to be brought at last to the Memorial of our Expiation, with such a sence of our Sins, and of the Mercy of our Suffering Saviour; as

may

may procure from God the Pardon of what is Past, and his Grace and Assistance for the Future: that the *following Years* may have reason to blot those *Forty Days*; and still successively advancing, may every *Lent* find Fewer and Lighter Sins to Confess; and be still more ready to Lament them.

This is the Innocent, and Godly Intention of that Time; which those of us who Understand, will certainly Commend; and those who Commend, should take care to Pursue.

FINIS.

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Febr. 5. 1694.

A DISCOURSE Concerning LENT,

In Two Parts.

The *FIRST*, an *Historical* Account of its *Observation* :

The *SECOND*, an *Essay* concern- its *Original* : This

Subdivided into Two *Repartitions* : Whereof

The *First* is Preparatory : and *shews*, that most of our *Christian Ordinances* are *Deriv'd* from the *Jews* : And

The *Second Conjectures*, that *Lent* is of the same *Original*.

LONDON,
Printed by *Tho. Warren* for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Bishop's-Head in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1695.

Tho. 8. Y-33.

by G. Hooper.

that to the *Magnesians* he directs: *Endeavour to do all things in the Unanimity of God; the Bishop Presiding in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the Consistory* [Synedrium] *of the Apostles, and the Deacons being intrusted with the Ministry of Jesus Christ.* And speaking of *Deacons* to the *Trallians*, he says expressly, *they are not Ministers of Meats and Drinks; but Servants of the Church of God.*

I know well that these now Unusual expressions, and High Comparisons, have been construed into a prejudice against the Authority of these Letters. But it is not reasonable, to judge either Antient Practice, or Phrase, by the Modern: for possibly those Primitive Christians would be at as great a loss to understand some later Divinity. The Passage that may appear the most strange, is that to the *Smyrneans: Follow your Bishop, as Christ Jesus* [*followed*] *the Father.* But we are to remember that the Hereticks, whom he warns them to avoid, were those who deny'd the *reality of our Saviour's Flesh*, saying, that He *Suffer'd*, and *Rose* again in *Appearance* only; themselves also dispensing with the *Reality of their Duty*,

as

as he tells them, and being *Christians* only *in Appearance*, *High-minded and puffed up*. These he Commands them to avoid: and, for the same intent, he cautions them to *shun Divisions* among themselves, as *the beginning of* those and most other *evils*; and *to Follow the Bishop* (*Polycarp*, a Faithful Servant of Christ, Approv'd and intrusted with the Charge of them by the Blessed St. *John*); adding, *as Christ Jesus, the Father*; a comparison that no more equals the *Bishop* to the *Father*, than it does the other *Christians* of that Church to *Jesus Christ*. It imported only, that they should not be high-minded and conceited, but should be subject to their Bishop; for *Christ* also himself was in *reality* found in *the form of a Servant*, and *obedient unto the Father even unto the Death of the Cross*: and that they should receive the Commandments from *Polycarp*; and act, as they saw him to act; for (as St. *John* lately departed from them had inform'd them) Christ also did or spoke *(d)* nothing from himself, and he both Taught and kept the Commandments of the Father *(e)*. This seems to be the occasional Analogy of that

(d) 8. 28. 12. 49.

(e) 15. 10.

that Expression. And as for the others, that the Bishop *presides in the place of God*, or is to be *look'd on as our Lord*; these speak him only as a Substitute and lower Representative of God and Christ, invested with some degree of Authority from them; as when St. *Paul* Commands Christian *Servants* to *obey* even Heathen *Masters* as *Christ* (*f*): neither were the *Presbyters* to be follow'd *as the Apostles*, for the Parity they held, but for the similitude they bore, being Assistants to the Bishop, as the Apostles were to our Saviour. For so was *Moses* heretofore put in the place of God (*g*): and as in *Ignatius* the *Presbyters* are said to *preside in the place of the Consistory, or Sanhedrim of the Apostles*; so the *Apostles* themselves may be suppos'd to succeed in the place of the *Twelve Princes*, the Chief Assistants to *Moses*. Neither has this Language of *Ignatius* to Christians any other meaning, than it might have had, if a *Jew* should have admonish'd his Brethren *Jews*, to have obey'd their *Nasi* or *Patriarch* as God (for so they were to have obey'd *Moses* their first *Nasi*;) and *his Assessors*, as they would have

(*f*) Eph. 6. 5.

(*g*) Exod. 7. 1.

have done the *Assessors of Moses*, (for to those in some manner they succeeded.)

Thus *Ignatius* concerning Church Officers. And to go higher yet, up into the first Age; (for then St. *Clemens* of *Rome* undoubtedly wrote his Epistle, if not before the Destruction of the Temple *(h)*;) there, if we have not an Authority for the Distinction of them by proper names one from another; yet we have a certain instance of the use of the word *Lay* before mention'd, whereby they were discriminated from the rest of the Congregation. The place, whether speaking of the Jewish, or of the Christian Church, (and of the Christian in likelyhood it does) runs thus (*i*). *To the High-Priest, proper Offices are given; and to the Priests, a proper Place is appointed; and on the Levites, proper Ministries are incumbent: The Layman, is bound to Lay Duty. Let every one of you, Brethren, in his own Station, give Thanks* [or *celebrate the Eucharist*] *to God, having a Good Conscience, and not transgressing the Rule of his own Office*, [*as he ought to do*] *in Holy Decency.*

§. III.

§. III. This was the certain Distinction in the Antient Church, betwixt the *Laiety*, and the *Clergy*; and among the Clergy, betwixt the *Bishops*, *Priests* and *Deacons*: and that it was deriv'd from the Language and Polity of the Jews, we may have already discern'd in part from the account above given (a).

(a) Ch. 4.

As to the Denomination of *Laiety*, as distinct from the Tribe of *Levi*, it must be directly understood to have been in use with the Jews, by those who will understand the passage from St. *Clemens* last cited, concerning the *Jewish* Priesthood. And those too who will have it taken of the *Christian* Priesthood must conclude, from the ordinary and current manner of using this Phrase in the beginning of Christianity, that it had been receiv'd before, and was as well known, as that of *Priest* and *Levite*.

But besides, the Ground also of this Appellation is from the Old Testament. For there, as the Nation of the *Israelites* is contradistinguish'd to other Nations, and is separated for the Peculiar Pro-

Propriety (*a* 2), and *Inheritance*, (*b*), of God; (the ſignification of the Greek word *Clerus*;) and they might all therefore have been properly ſtil'd the *Clergy* of God, in reſpect of other *People*; (the meaning of the word *Lay*;) for in that regard they all are call'd *Priests* (*c*): So in this Holy Nation, one Tribe of it was more particularly *Choſen*, and Holy and ſeparated from the reſt; (God not only claiming them to be *his Own* yet more Peculiarly, and in the place of the *Firſt Born* (*d*), but declaring *Himſelf* alſo to be their Peculiar and *Inheritance* (*e*);) and might well therefore have been appropriately ſtil'd the *Clergy*, even in reſpect of the reſt of the *Holy People*, who were then, for diſtinction to be call'd the *People*. Neither was this term, the *People*, at all diſhonourable to the other Tribes; for it appears, by the Phraſe of St. *Luke* (*f*), to have been the name whereby they choſe to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the *Gentiles*, [or *Nations*]: and the diſparaging acception which the *Phariſaical Rabbins* give it, when they oppoſe it to the *Diſciples of the Learn'd*, and make it to ſignify the *Illiterate* and

(*a* 2) Ex. 19. 5. Deut. 14. 2.
(*b*) Deut. 4. 20.
(*c*) Exod. 19. 6.
(*d*) Numb. 3. 45.
(*e*) Num. 18. 20.
(*f*) Act. 26. 17, 23.

Rude; seems to be rais'd by them for their own honour, since they have come in to the room of the Priests, and usurp'd their Privilege (g).

(g) See Ch. 4. §. 4.

Next I am come to compare the several *Officers* of the *Christian Church*, so distinguish'd as above, with the several Officers of the Jewish. But in this, as for the Synagogue-Discipline, and Worship, of the Jews, I am prevented by what has been said before: and the Parallel must have manifestly appear'd betwixt the *Bishop*, *Priest*, and *Deacon*; and between the *Chief* of the *Sanhedrim* or *Synagogue*, the *Elders*, and their *Ministerial Officers*.

For as every *City* had its *Consistory* in that manner Officer'd, with the Jews, so had it with the Christians; though with no Subordination to any other higher Court, as at *Jerusalem*; in as much as that Local Dependance was now abolish'd.

The *Chief* of the Consistory with the Jews, was either the *Prince*; or his *Deputy*, the *Father* of the Assembly. Now the Title of *Prince* was, I suppose, in the Christian Church, every where appropriated to *Christ*: and the *Bishop* was

was as the *Father*, in whom the Principal Directive Power was lodged. The other *Elders* were his Councellors and Assistants, in the Governing and Teaching of the Assembly; and the *Deacons* had the management of Affairs, Execution of Orders, and Distribution of Alms, belonging to their part; as is notoriously known.

Thus was a Christian Church govern'd conformably to the *Synagogue*, as a *Society*; it was likewise, as a *Congregation*. The *Instruction* and *Exhortation* belong'd to the *Bishop*; or else, by his leave, to the *Presbyters*: or it was perform'd by such other proper Person, as the Bishop should appoint. Likewise *Prayers* were said, either by the *Bishop*, or *Presbyters*; or else by the *Deacons*. For these last, answering the Jewish *Chazans*, directed the People in their Devotions; either repeating the Prayers before them, or calling upon them to hearken to those repeated by others: and also either Read the holy Scriptures, or assisted those who were to Read them.

Neither do the *Elders* of a *Christian* and a *Jewish* Church agree, only so far,

but farther yet. For as the *Jewish Elders*, since the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, have thought fit to assume to themselves much of the *Sacerdotal* Honour and Privilege: so have the *Christian* succeeded into the like Dignity, nay are call'd by the same Name; as we have seen in *Tertullian*'s expression, (*h*) *The High Priest who is the Bishop*; and as he phrases it, discoursing about those Hereticks, who making little distinction between the People and the Church Officers, committed *Sacerdotal* Offices to the *Laiety* (*i*); and as we may in general have collected, even from the discretive Appellatives themselves of *Laiety*, and *Clergy*.

(*h*) See Ch. 6. §. 1.

But the *Elders* of the *Christian* Church derive not those their style and Privileges from the Calamities of *Jerusalem*, and the Usurpation of the *Rabbins*: nor are they esteem'd *Priests*, in vertue of their *Presbytery*; though the English word *Priest* happens to come, by the French *Prestre*, from the Latin *Presbyter*. On the contrary, by Original appointment, a *Christian Priest* corresponds as directly to a *Priest* of the *Jews*, as a *Presbyter* does to their *Elder*:

der: or rather, to ſpeak more generally, the *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*, of the *Goſpel*, anſwer not more to the *Officers* of the *Sanhedrim*, or *Synagogue*; than they do to thoſe of the *Temple*, to the *High Prieſt*, or (as we conceive) his *Great Vicar*, to the *Prieſts*, and to the *Levites*.

For this is not only intimated by the *Sacerdotal* Titles the Governours of the Church immemorially had, as we learn'd from *Tertullian*; but plainly declar'd by their Office, and all along allow'd and own'd by more Antient Authors: They having, as hath appear'd, an *Euchariſtical Sacrifice* ſtill remaining to be celebrated by them; a Pure *Offering*, to be offer'd in every place; and every where *Holy Tables*, or *Altars*, erected for that Service. And this is what St. *Jerom* has ſaid, much to our purpoſe, in that Letter of his, which has been often miſcited to the Prejudice of Epiſcopacy *(k)*. *And*, ſays he, *that you may underſtand the Eccleſiaſtical Traditions to be deriv'd from the Old Teſtament; we are to know, what* Aaron, *and his Sons, were in the Temple, that Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, are to chal-*

(k) *Ad Eustoch. vulgr.*

lenge to themselves in the Church.

This Remembrance of St. *Jerome* was, we see, well founded: and is, if I mistake not, attested by the structure of an Antient Christian Church, such of which we have been speaking before (*l*). For, whereas the *first four Partitions* of it, wherein the *Laiety* were dispos'd; have been seen to answer to the *four first Courts* of the *Temple*, beyond which none but those of the *Tribe of Levi* ordinarily could go: there yet remain *two other Partitions*, the places heretofore of our *Clergy*; to answer to the *two* remaining *Courts*, of the *Priests*, and of the *Altar*.

(*l*) Ch. 6. §. 1, 3.

For so that part [E Fig. 2.] of a Christian Church, which is next beyond the Upper Place of the Faithful (now call'd the Quire) [D], and reaches to the Rails of the Altar space, stil'd by the Western Church *Presbyterium*, and by the Greek *Solea* (*m*) where the Readers are said to have had a place (*n*); corresponds aptly enough with the *Court* of the Temple, where the *Priests* stood who were not actually on Duty, and where the [*Doukans*] Desks of the Singers were likewise placed (*o*).

(*o*) *Lightf.* T. Service Ch. 23.

And

And then the Higher ſpace [F Fig. 2.] incloſed with Rails or Lattice, where the Lord's Table, or Chriſtian Altar [G] ſtands; apparently agrees to the Court of the Altar in the Temple [F. Fig. 1.], which was fenc'd in like manner. And poſſibly the rais'd Seat [T] behind the Altar, (as the Archiepiſcopal Chair at *Canterbury* now is,) where the Biſhop ſat, with the Chief of the Clergy on either ſide; anſwer, not only to the Seats of the Elders in a Synagogue (*p*), but to the Place, where the High Prieſt ſtood, *compaſſed with his Brethren round about, as a young Cedar in Libanus by the Palm Trees* (*q*); either at the Altar itſelf; [G Fig. 1.] or in the Porch [H], which was as high, and from whence, after the Burning of the Incenſe, the Bleſſing was pronounc'd (*r*).

(*p*) Ch. 6. §. 3.

(*q*) Eccleſ. 50. 12.

(*r*) *Lightf.* Ib. Ch. 36. *Maim. de Cult. Div.* Tract. 6. Cap. 6. §. 4.

And this, concerning the Agreement of the upper part of a *Church*, with the upper Courts of the *Temple*, I have added on this Argument; not ſo much to confirm the *Sacerdotal* Title of Chriſtian Prieſts, (for that ſeems to be otherwiſe ſufficiently ſecur'd,) as to complete the Parallel, already begun in the *ſixth*

Chapter, and by which a new account is offer'd of the Modelling of these Christian Ædifices.

I know, *Architects* derive the Design of our Churches from the Fabricks of the Heathen *Basilicæ*, or Publick Halls (∫) : the upper end of which was rais'd , and had a *Semicircle*, in which Governours and Judges sat for Audience, having before them a *Table*, as we may presume , and a space separated and *Raild* in ; and beyond that, without the *Bar* , a place something lower, where those stood who attended the Court : the remaining and lowest part of the Hall, being open to All ; as there was commonly before it, a *Portico*, and a *Piazza*. Such Rooms as these Private Men also built in Great Houses ; and being Christians, might lend to the use of Christian Assemblies : whence (as they say) it afterwards came that Churches were built in the same fashion , retaining also the Name [*Basilicæ*]. Now that those Halls might have sometimes, and somewhere, serv'd to that use ; and were very convenient for it ; may be granted : but as one cannot think that the Form of such a Hall,

(∫) *Pallad.* lib. 4. c. 5. lib. 3. c. 19.

Hall, gave occaſion to the ſeveral Ranks and Offices of Chriſtians; ſo neither to the Building, which was to be ſuited to them. I ſhould rather ſuppoſe, that the Congruity of thoſe two ſorts of Ædifices was accidental, and that the name came from the ſimilitude. (*t*)

There are indeed others who take the Modules of our Churches from the Jews; but either from their *Synagogues*; or from the Temple-*Houſe*, conſiſting of the [H Fig. 1.] Porch, the Holy [I], and the Holy of Holies [K]. Whereas the *Synagogue* goes but half way, and neither now has, nor ever pretended to, an *Altar*: and the *Altar of Incenſe*, and *Table of Shewbread*, which were in the *Houſe*, were we know in the Outer Part, and not in the inmoſt, the Holy of Holies.

It appears therefore, that the *Temple*, as it conſiſted of its *ſeveral Courts*, was rather the Pattern which the *Chriſtians* follow'd for the Place of their Worſhip. For as for the Houſe; as it might before have been an Imitation of the *Heavens*, the *Holy of Holies*, repreſenting the *Third Heaven*: ſo now it might be ſuppos'd to be no longer on Earth, but

chang'd

chang'd into that *not made with Hands*, into which the *High Priest was now enter'd with his own Blood*, as the Author to the *Hebrews* observes (*u*); We all in the mean time waiting without, in expectation of his Return; and, until that his coming again, by his particular Command, continuing to celebrate the Joyful Memorial of that *Sacrifice*, with which he *Appears now in the presence of God for us*.

(*u*) Hebr. 9. 11, 12, 24.

But (to return to my Argument) whatever may become of the Conjecture concerning the Figure of our Churches, this is certain, by the express Declaration of the Scripture (*x*), that our Saviour Christ is the *High Priest* of our Profession: and in the Opinion of the Primitive Church, all the several *Bishops* seem to have been as so many *Sagans*, or Vicars of that High Priest, officiating at their several Altars with equal, and among themselves independant, Authority (*y*). Under His Direction, the *Presbyters*, are as *Priests*, assisting that their *Vice High Priest* in their several Stations: and the *Deacons* as *Levites*, attend and administer unto them.

(*x*) See Repart. 2. Ch. 2. §. 2.

So

So are our *Bishops* Representatives of our *Saviour*, either as he is our *Prince*, or our *Priest*; his Deputies, both in the *Synagogue*, and in the *Temple*. And thus as the *Fathers* of the *Consistories* with the Jews, the *Presidents* under the *Princes*, might have been properly enough stil'd by the Title signifying a *Bishop* or Superintendent: So we actually know, that the *Vice High Priest*, whom now the Jews call *Sagan*, was heretofore in the Old Testament express'd by that very name *(z)*.

(z) See Chap. 4. §. 3.

§. 1. *(b)* One Part of the Distinction the *Laici*, are specified in the place last cited: and the other the *Clerus*, containing the *Ordines Ecclesiastici*, is as expresly and familiarly mention'd in his Book *de Monog. cap.* 12. occurring very often in the compass of a few lines.

§. 2. *(d)* St. *Peter* argues in the same manner 1. 5. 5.

(e) Ὡς θεοῦ Ἐντολὴ, *Mandatum*, it may be, in the sense of the Civil Law; and the Deacons here to be understood, as Mandataries, or Agents: for such they were to the Bishops, *(Const. Apost.* 2. 28.); and such Proctors the High Priest had, whom the Jews call Entelers, or Antalars, from the Greek, as may be seen at large in *Seld. de Synedr.* 2. 10. 7.

(h) According to Mr. *Dodwell*, *Dissert.* 2. *Cap.* 6. §. 24. *Libr. Posth. Cestriens. Episc. Pearsonii.*

(i) Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor. §. 40, 41. Τῷ δὴ Ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσί· καὶ τοῖς Ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος πρέπει· παρεῖται καὶ Λευῖται ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπιτέτακται. Ὁ Λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς Λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται. Ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοὶ, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι Εὐχαριστείτω τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὡρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι.

§. 3.

§. 3. (*i*) *Tertull. De Præscr. Hær. Cap.* 41.——*hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus : nam & Laicis munera Sacerdotalia injungunt.*

(*m*) The Σωλεὰ, or Σολεὰ, &c. was the Place where the Communion was distributed to the Laiety; and from the Lord's Body being there on that occasion, *Goar* would have it call'd *Solium*; as others, from the Seat of the Emperour: but *Du Fresne* seems to have given a more probable Original of the word, *Constant. Chr. libr.* 3. *cap.* 73. *Solea*, says he, *à Solo*, *Pavimento Editiori: quippe apud Italos quicquid supra Pavimentum tantisper eminet, Soglia dicitur, uti apud Francos Seuil.* But *Solea* it self, in Latin, may possibly answer the signification; and that place, which is a little higher than the Quire, may be reputed the *Basis* of the *Bema*, its *Solea* or *Crepida*; as κρηπὶς, is expounded by ὑποβάθρα; and *Solea* in *Festus*, by *Materia Roborea*, *supra quam Paries Cratitius extruitur*: not to mention, that this place might be call'd *Solea*; as that in the Amphitheaters, next the Arena, was call'd *Podium*.

(*n*) This *Solea* is said, by *Sim. Thessal.* to be call'd Βῆμα Αναγνωστῶν, *Goar, Euch. pag.* 18.

(*o*) The word Βῆμα *Tribunal*, by which the Altar-space is call'd; and the *Cancelli*, and Vails or Curtains, by which it was separated from the rest of the Church; and also the *Candles*, and *Book* upon the Table; may indeed concur, to strengthen the Opinion I have oppos'd. But it may be consider'd, that Βῆμα it self in that sence, may well come from the Hebrew במה; and that therefore the Jews may be suppos'd to have us'd their בימה more willingly, and that the Christians took it from them. And so we know that, though the *Cancelli* and *Veiles* were us'd to inclose the Apartment of Secular Governours; yet Veils were us'd in the House of God, and that these *Cancelli* divided the Court of the Altar from that of the Priests. And lastly, whereas it is true, that the Furniture of the Table of the *Præfecti Prætorio* was a *Book* of his Office, standing up between *Candles on each side*, (as it is design'd in the *Notitia Imp.* of *Pancirollus*): it is also to be observ'd, that this Civil State was deriv'd from sacred Eastern Usage; that Candles were burnt before God in one part of the House, and the Law lodg'd in the other; and accordingly in the Jewish Synagogues their Repository of the Law has those Candles before it, and when the Law is brought out to be read, it is placed on a Table, that has a Cloth over it (*Buxt. Syn. Cap.* 14.); and that therefore our Christian Altar, instead of Fire which it needed not, might have those Lights

continually

continually burning; and might withal be the ſacred Table, on which the Word of God ſhould be plac'd, that *Lamp unto our Feet and Light unto our Paths.*

(*y*) The Excellently Learn'd Mr. *Dodwell* (in his Book of *One Prieſt and One Altar*) differs not from what is here ſaid. He puts indeed our Biſhops in the place of the Jewiſh High Prieſts (*Ch.* 9.) but then he ſuppoſes thoſe High Prieſts to have been the Repreſentatives of the Λόγος, the High-High Prieſt (*Ch.* 8.) As therefore Biſhops now are the Subſtitutes of our Lord; ſo they anſwer the old High Prieſt are ſuch in ſome ſenſe High Prieſts themſelves: but as He has now been pleas'd openly to own, and to Execute, that Office; ſo they are thenceforth, in propriety of Speech, to forbear that title, and to own themſelves for his Vicegerents and *Sagans.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

§. I. *The Sentence and Effects of* Excommunication *with* Christians, *as with* Jews: *and the* Relaxation *of it alike.*
§. II. *Their* Agreement, *in the estimate of the* Guilt of Sins; *and the appointments of* Penance.

§. I. EXcommunication, as we have seen (a), was with the *Jews* a Punishment with which their *Presbyterial* Authority was arm'd; and which besides, if it was not also decreed, was certainly Executed, by the *Sacerdotal*: and that Sentence, we must think, was then most valid and most effectual, when it was pass'd by both those Powers. Such an Excommunication we have seen too Directed, in the *New Testament*, and Executed, and afterwards Releas'd. And the same Jurisdiction, how it continued to be Exercis'd in the Church, we are now to consider.

(a) Ch. 5.

This Discipline then is well known to have been Executed in the Primitive Church, by the *Bishops* and *Priests*, with great severity; and to have been much

much dreaded by the Guilty. And the account of it we may take from *Tertullian*, as he describes it in his Apology (*b*). Being to justify the Christian Assemblies from the Imputation, put upon them, by the Imperial Officers, and common Opinion, of their being Unlawful Associations, and dangerous Conventicles, He says: *We are indeed a Corporation, embodied by our Agreement in the same Religion, and Obedience to the same Discipline; and are Confederate, by the same Hope. We Meet together; but it is before God. Him we surround with our Prayers, and as it were with our Numbers Force; but this is such a violence, as is acceptable unto Him. And then our Prayers are, for our Emperours, for their Officers, and such as are put in Authority. We meet; but it is to refresh our memory by Reading the Word of God----There too* (*c*) *is the place for Exhortation, and for Reproof; and there our Manners are Inspected and Censur'd, as it were by God himself. For Causes are there judg'd with great deliberation; as it is fit to be done by those who know, that they judge in the Presence and sight of God: and if any one shall be found so Criminal, as to be Ex-*

(*b*) Ch. 39.

cluded

cluded from the Communion of our Prayers and Assemblies, and from the rest of our Holy Commerce; this Judgment so pass'd upon him, is taken for the Highest Presumption, that can be, of a like Judgment to come. Elders [or Governours] the best approv'd, Preside over us; such as have purchas'd the Honour, not by Money, but by their Deserts: for nothing belonging to God, is to be bought with Money.

By those who *Preside over us*, we are chiefly to understand the Bishop, and then the Presbyters, who are said above (*d*) in the language of *Ignatius* (to the *Magnesians*) to preside also. And likewise it appears manifestly, that the *Authority* by which they act, is not look'd on as founded, upon any *voluntary agreement* of the Fraternity, but upon the *Law of God*. Neither is it necessary that I should trouble the Reader with any further Proof from the Antients, either for the Immemorial Practice of Excommunication, or for the constant Presumption of its Authority from God.

(*d*) Ch. 8. §. 2.

Now a Person so ejected out of the Church, was either cast off Finally, without any hopes of Return; or he was

FIG. I.

The *Temple* of *Jerusalem*.

a The Space *without* the *Precinct* of the Temple.
AA The *1st* Court, or Court of the *Gentiles*.
BB The *2d* Court, or Alley.
CC The *3d* Court, of the *Women*.
c c c } Their *Galleries* in that Court.
DD The *4th* Court, of the *Israelites*.
EE The *5th* of the *Priests*.
FF The *6th* of the *Altar*.
G The *Altar*.
H The *Porch*.
I The *Holy* Place. } of the *House*.
K The *Holy* of *Holies*. }
l m n o p The several *Gates*, or Entrances.

FIG. II.

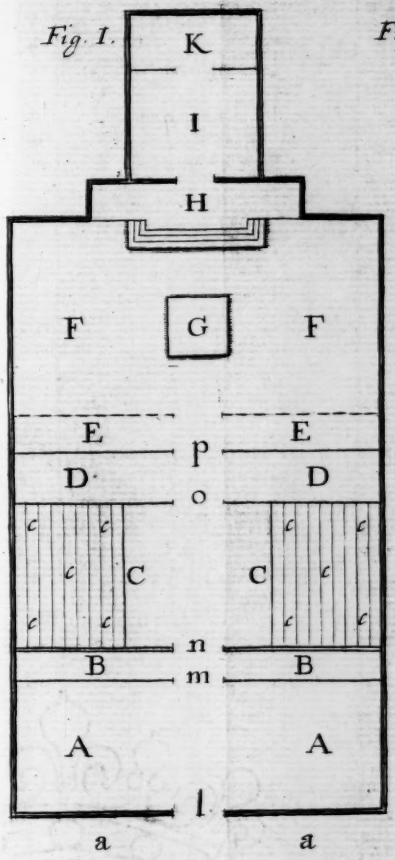
A *Christian* [Greek] *Church*.

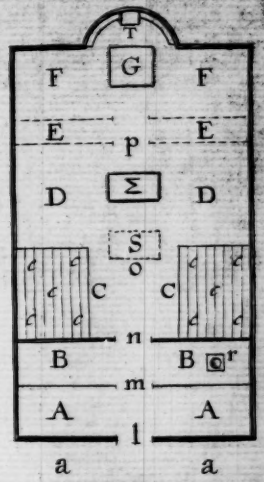
aa The *Area before* it, commonly Cloyster'd about.
AA The *First Porch*, or *Narthex*.
BB The *Inner Narthex*: in it,
r The *Font*.
CC The *Body* of the Church: in it,
c c c } *Galleries* for *Women*.
S The old place of the *Ambo*; the Pulpit, or Desk.
DD The *Quire*.
Σ The Ambo *now*: if not supplied by *Analogia*, or Reading Desks, on either side.
EE The *Presbyterium*, or *Solea*.
FF The *Space* of the *Altar*.
G The *Altar*, or Holy Table.
T The *Bishops Throne*; with the adjoining Seats, for Bishops, or Presbyters.
l m n o p The *Entrances*.

FIG. III.

A *Synagogue*.

AA A, suppos'd, *Outer Porch*.
BB A, suppos'd, *Inner Partition*.
CC The *Body* of the Synagogue; with
cc *Apartments* for *Women*, on either hand.
S The *Bema*, or Pulpit.
DD The *Space* between the Pulpit, or Desk; and
p The *Repository* of the *Law*.
tt The [Antient] *Semicircle* for the *Presbyters*.
m The *Entrance*.





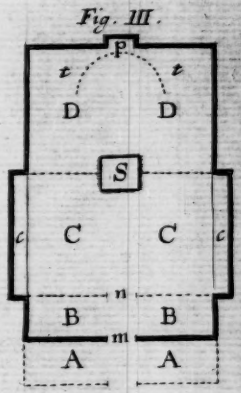


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FIG. I.

The Temple of Jerusalem.

A The space within the Wall of the Temple.

AA The right Court, or Court of the Gentiles.

BB The Court, or Alley.

CC The 3d Court, of the Women.

EE The 4th Court of the Priests.

DD The 5th Court, of the Israelites.

FF The 6th of the Priests.

GG The 7th of the Altar.

HH The 8th.

II The 9th Porch.

KK The Holy Place.

LL The Holy of Holies.

MM The Place for Sacrifices, and several Chambers, or Rooms.

FIG. II.

A Chapel and Grove.

a The Sacrificing Altar.

AA The right Court.

BB The Area Sacrificii.

C The Altar.

DC The Altar.

E The Altar.

F The Altar.

G The Altar.

H The Altar.

I The Altar.

K The Altar.

L The Altar.

M The Altar.

N The Altar.

O The Altar.

P The Altar.

Q The Altar.

R The Altar.

S The Altar.

T The Altar.

V The Altar.

X The Altar.

Y The Altar.

Z The Altar.

FIG. III.

A Synagogue.

AA A Hospital, Inner Parts.

BB A Hospital, Inner Parts.

CC The Inner Parts of the Synagogue.

D Apartments for Women, or other Land.

E The Altar.

F The Altar.

G The Altar.

H The Altar.

I The Altar.

K The Altar.

L The Altar.

M The Altar.

N The Altar.

O The Altar.

P The Altar.

Q The Altar.

R The Altar.

S The Altar.

T The Altar.

V The Altar.

X The Altar.

Y The Altar.

Z The Altar.

was in a Possibility of it: and of these some were not to be readmitted until they were in evident danger of Death, and after the Penance of their whole Lives; while others might have the favour of an earlier Reconciliation, who upon their earnest Intercession were restor'd, after some time of Penitence impos'd, and commonly by degrees. And for those degrees, I need not use any other Authority, than that we have already produc'd from the Synod of *Ancyra* (*e*). For thence we have perceiv'd, that the Readmission into the Church was usually perform'd by the same steps, by which the first Admission was made: and that one Ejected out of the Church, was first kept at the distance of a Heathen; then admitted, to be as an Auditor; afterwards as a *Catechumen*, or a nearer Candidate of Christianity; next as one Baptis'd, and who was allow'd to pray with them, but had not yet receiv'd the other Sacrament; until at last he was restor'd into Full and Intire Communion.

(*e*) Part 1. Ch. 6. §. 2.

And, agreeably to this, we have already seen, that Excommunication with the Jews was Lighter, or Heavier, and

differently Aggravated, as the Cause deserv'd (*f*). It has likewise appear'd probable, that the several Excommunicates may have lain under several Prohibitions, as to their Approach in the Synagogues or Temple (*g*). And since it has been shown, that the Jewish Proselytes enter'd into their Religion by the same Degrees, by which the Christians did (*h*): we cannot doubt, but those of them who had been solemnly excluded the Temple, ordinarily Re-enter'd it after the same manner, advancing successively thorough the several Courts, (as those did who had been under corporal Pollution,) according to the measure of their suppos'd Purification.

(*f*) Ch. 5. §. 1.

(*g*) Sect. 3.

(*h*) Ch. 6.

We have yet spoken only of the *spiritual* effect of Excommunication, and *Tertullian* mentions the Exclusion from all *Sacred Commerce* only: and this, no doubt, is the proper jurisdiction of that Presbyterial Authority, which pretends not to govern the Commerce or Negotiations of this World. But there can be no question, but that the Faithful always avoided any great Familiarity, or intimate Conversation, with the Excom-

Excommunicates; other than to Reform and Reconvert them. And this the Scripture it self seems to direct (*i*) : and necessary it was, to the Humiliation and Mortification of the Criminal, and for the danger of others being corrupted by him: though the other common Entercourse, the Christians were to have with their Neighbours of all sorts, was to be regulated by the Policy of that Temporal Government, to which they belong'd. But, when the *Government* became *Christian*, as it thought fit to enlarge the proper Presbyterial Power with some new Jurisdiction, in things confining upon that Office; as in *Causes Testamentary* and *Matrimonial*: so it back'd their Excommunication, with civil Restraints and Penalties. And thence those who were under the Greater Excommunication, have been forbid all common Conversation, renderd uncapable of several Legal Benefits, and sometimes Imprison'd, or otherwise punish'd in Body or Estate: in all which proceedings the Patterns of the Jews, as is evident, has been much follow'd; as it seems to be, in the *Three Admonitions* before the Sentence;

(*i*) 1 Cor. 5. 11.

tence, the consideration of the *contempt of the Court* on which it is founded, the pronouncing it by *Bell and Candle*, and Executing it even upon the *Dead (k)*.

(k) See Ch. 5. §. 1.

§. II. AND thus much may suffice at present for the correspondence of the *Sentence* and *Effect* of *Excommunication*, with the Jews, and with the Christians; but they also agree further, about the *Crimes* that are to be the *Cause* of it, and about the *means* of its *Absolution*.

The most *Grievous Crimes* in the judgment of the Antient Church, were *Idolatry*, *Adultery*, and *Murder*; as *Morinus* has demonstrated *(a)*. And that they are so estimated by the Jews, he has also sufficiently prov'd (*b*).

(a) Mor. de Pœn. lib. 5. cap. 1.
(b) Ibid Cap. 3.

And concerning Repentance and Expiation, or Abolition, of Sins; this is the Doctrine of the Rabbins, according to *Maimonides*. *The Guilt of the Transgression of an Affirmative Precept, or of a Sin of Omission, if it does not deserve Excommunication by their Law, (for Death it never does;) is Expiated by Repentance alone. The Guilt of the Transgression of a Negative Precept, or of a sin of*

of Commission, if it deserves neither Death, nor Excommunication; is suspended by Repentance at present, and Expiated by the Day of Propitiation. And the Guilt of a Sin of Commission, to which Death or Excommunication is due, is suspended by Repentance, and by the Day of Expiation; and not Expiated, but by Afflictions. But the Guilt of the Profanation of the Name of God, is suspended by Repentance, the Day of Expiation, and Afflictions; and Expiated only by Death (c). Now Repentance is describ'd to consist of these Acts: (1.) *Forsaking the Sin in Deed, and in Thought; and Resolving within our selves, never again to commit it: (2.) Grieving for it:* (3.) *Vowing to God against it: and* (4*thly*) *the Profession of all this with our Mouths;* (d) *with Confession, of sins against Men, before Men, satisfaction being made also* (e); *and of Sins done in private against God, before God alone (f). And therefore,* as he adds (g), *a Penitent is to cry day and night before God; to strive with Him, by Tears and Supplications; to Give Almes; to Avoid the Occasions or Opportunities of Sin; to change his Name, and his whole course of Life, and to go into Voluntary*

(c) *Maim. de Pœnit.* Cap. 1. §. 7, 8, 9.

(d) Cap. 2. §. 3.

(e) Sect. 11.

(f) Sect. 7.

(g) Sect. 5.

Banishment. And further he tells us (*h*), that *that all times are fit for Repentance, and Crying to God; but the most proper and acceptable Season, is the Propitiation Day, with the nine days before it.*

(*h*) Sect. 8.

This we have in general out of *Maimonides.* In the *Penitential Exscripts* at the end of *Morinus de Pœnit.* (*i*) there are further Directions for particular Cases; and some things thence it may be for our Use to observe.

(*i*) Pag. 151.

A *Murderer*, is to go into Banishment, or on Pilgrimage for three Years; to bear Forty stripes save one in every City to which he comes, and to say I am a Murderer: neither to eat Flesh, nor to drink Wine, except on Sabbaths and Holy-Days: Not to shave his Head, or Beard; or to wash his Cloths, or Body; nor so much as to comb his Hair above once a Month, or twice at most: To ty the Hand and Arm that did the Murder, in an Iron Chain to his Neck; and to go barefoot, and mourning for the Fact; if any one Reproaches him, to be silent; and those three Years, not to walk for Pleasure, nor to use any Recreation; and during his

his Pilgrimage to lay himſelf at the door of the Synagogue, that they who go in and out may paſs over him; (but they are not to tread upon him).

The *Adulterer* is to undergo Afflictions, as bitter as Death; (for he is, by the Law, Guilty of Death): for a Year not to eat Fleſh, nor drink Wine, except, *&c.* every day, in the Winter, to ſit in Snow or Ice for an hour, and in the Summer amidſt Bees or Waſps; or (as it is in the other Penitential (*k*)) every day, that he ſuffers not from the Cold or Heat, to Faſt, and to take nothing but Bread and Water in the Evening: every day to confeſs his Sins with Tears and Sighs; and to be beat with the 39 ſtripes; and to ly upon the Ground, or a Plank without ſtraw, *&c.* except on Holy-Days; to wear Sackcloath alſo, and to lead a mournful Life, and to keep from all Converſation with Women. He alſo that is guilty of ſome other ſorts of Uncleanneſs, is to Faſt Forty Days continued (*l*); in them to uſe neither Fleſh nor Wine, nor to take any thing warm, except on Sabbaths, *&c.*

(*k*) Page 157.

An *Idolater*, as soon as he Returns and Repents, is to wash himself, and to endure Afflictions and Tribulations, in proportion to his Crime. He is to put on Mourning; to weep and to afflict himself all the Days of his Life, making his Confession thrice every day; not to wash, *&c.* or to eat Flesh, *&c.* to be present at no Feast.

These are the most Criminal Cases: and I shall only observe, of the other there mention'd, what we saw in one instance above, that *Forty Days* are commonly specified for a more solemn Penitence, and injoin'd in almost all of them; as also in general, that the Penitent is suppos'd to be as a Mourner.

Now no one that reads these Penitential Injunctions, and knows any thing of the Practice of the Antient Church, but will easily discern the Correspondence. He will presently call to mind the severity of old, that was us'd especially to Adulterers, Murderers, and Relaps'd Idolaters; the Difficulty they found to be Restor'd, and the Long and Rigorous Penances they underwent: How they Lamented, and Mourn'd, and Prostrated themselves

ſelves before the Doors of the Churches, at the feet of the Brethren; ſome of them not re-admitted till after many years; others not Reconcil'd till the Point of Death; and ſome not at all, though left to the Mercy of God; paſſing their time in Faſting, and other Hardſhips, for the Humiliation of their Body and Spirit, and a teſtification of their ſorrow both before God and Men. So like in very many points, was the behaviour of Penitents, both in the Synagogue, and in the Church: not to mention Change, of Name, or courſe of Life; Pilgrimaging, Voluntary Baniſhment or Abjuration, eſpecially of Murderers; The tying up of their Arms in an Iron Chain; and ſuch kind of Practices, which were frequent in after Ages, and might have been ſometimes us'd before, though not then recorded.

But, for a general view of this Correſpondence of Practice in the Primitive Church, we need only to compare *Tertullian*'s Tract of *Penitence*; or but only to look back upon thoſe two Paſſages, already cited thence in the ſecond Chapter of the Firſt Part. And, as for

the

the Vertue assigned to all kind of Afflictions, we may find a suitable Opinion of them in *Hermas* the Antient Christian Writer. He is told by the Angel, that *he is Afflicted, to the end his Family may suffer and Repent:* and when he answers, that *behold they already Repent from the bottom of their Hearts*; the Angel replies, *I know they do. But doest thou think* (*m*) *that the Sins of those who Repent, are presently blotted out? No not so quickly. But he that is a Penitent, must Afflict his Soul; and behave himself Humbly, in all he has to do; and endure many, and grievous Vexations; and when he has suffer'd much, then God may have mercy on him.*

§. I. (*c*) *Ibidem etiam Exhortationes, Castigationes, & Censura Divina. Nam & Judicatur magno cum Pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumq; Futuri Judicii Præjudicium est, siquis ita deliquerit, ut à Communicatione Orationis, & Conventus, & omnis Sancti Commercii, relegetur. Præsident probati quiq; Seniores, Honorem istum non Pretio, sed Testimonio adepti; neq; enim pretio ulla res Dei constat.*

§. II. (*l*) *Morinus* his Translation agrees with the Printed Text, and makes the Forty Days to be discontinued. But it should seem, that they were intended to be continued, by the Prohibition that follows of not washing the while above Twice or Thrice; and that for אינם should be read אינין. However there is no need of this place, for an instance of such a Fast of Forty Days together; such a Penance being afterwards thrice injoin'd, in the same short Paragraph.

(*m*) Herm.

(m) Herm. Part. lib. 3. Sim. 7. *Numquid ergo, ait, protinus putas aboleri delicta illorum qui agunt Pœnitentiam? Non proinde continuò. Sed oportet eum qui agit Pœnitentiam, Affligere animam suam, & Humilem animo se præstare in omni negotio, & Vexationes multas variasq; perferre. Cumq; perpessus fuerit omnia quæ illi instituta sunt; tunc forsitan, qui eum creavit, & qui formavit Universa, commovebitur erga eum clementiâ suâ.*

CHAP.